

# THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

## *Review of Reviews.*

VOL. XXXI.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1905.

No. 5.

### THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Chicago  
in the  
Public Eye*

In a hundred phases, the relationships of the corporations and monopolies with the Government and the people were under vigorous discussion throughout the United States last month. The most striking event in the series of events or situations that provoked all this fresh outburst of argument and arousing of the public mind was the election of Judge Dunne as mayor of Chicago, on a platform demanding the immediate ownership of the street-railroad lines of the city by the municipal government and the direct conduct of the business as a municipal department. There have been many creditable things in the history of the municipal government of Chicago. In view of the brevity of the city's existence, the heterogeneous character of its working population, and the other difficulties belonging to the circumstances of the case, Chicago's achievements are among the greatest in the history of mankind. In due time, doubtless, Chicago will overcome its chief remaining defects, and obtain full recognition for all its past and present merits. There is now only a comparatively narrow margin of advancement to be won in order to transform Chicago from its present disparaged and criticised condition into a much-lauded and admired metropolis. It is obvious that one of the things Chicago most needs is an up-to-date transit service. Whether, however, this is to be promptly and thoroughly obtained by virtue of the election of Judge

Dunne as mayor, is a question that time alone can answer conclusively. There will be many difficulties confronting Judge Dunne's programme; and the thousands who have assumed that the thing is as good as accomplished, merely because of the triumph of the municipal-ownership party at the polls, will probably find that they did not take due account of the magnitude and complexity of the problem.



HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE.

(The new Democratic mayor of Chicago.)

*An Expression  
of American  
Sentiment.*

We publish elsewhere a well-informed article upon this Chicago situation, from the pen of a local observer. Sooner or later there will come about in Chicago the public ownership of extensive transit lines, even if the assets of the present companies are not all acquired. It is not so certain that Chicago will venture upon direct municipal operation as that it will enter in some way upon the policy of ownership by the city of some or all of the transit lines. Leasing to operating companies may be found best. All efforts to carry out the programme upon which Judge Dunne was elected will be noted by the country with keen interest.

Meanwhile, it should be said that the Chicago vote was chiefly significant as an expression of American sentiment against corporations which have abused their privileges and opportunities and have provoked the people to an exasperation that has gone beyond any relenting or compromise. The people of Chicago are determined, if possible, to rid themselves of the corporations from which they have suffered so much through

long years past. In the last analysis, of course, the people, in attacking the corporations, are confessing their own faults. For if they had always put the right men in office, and had in years past insisted upon the right kind of city and State government, the transit corporations would have been chartered on proper terms, and would have been held to the right performance of their duties as public servants. The corporations, on the other hand, if they should now suffer loss, would have only themselves to blame for overcapitalization, bad service, and a long history of improper attempts to influence legislatures and city councils. The state of mind of the Chicago citizens is a distinct mark of progress, and is typical of what the whole country thinks, or, rather, feels. And sentiment is a powerful factor.

*The "Public-Ownership" Slogan.*

The Chicago victory has given elation to Mr. William J. Bryan and various others who hold to the views of the so-called radical wing of the Democratic party; and they made use of the oratorical opportunities given by Jefferson's birthday (April 13) to declare for a sweeping public-ownership crusade that shall in the near future, as they declare, expand our city governments into great business organizations for the carrying on of street railroads and other enterprises, while turning over to the national government the ownership of interstate railroad systems and telegraph lines. It is fairly probable that there will be a strong attempt made by the public-ownership advocates to obtain control of the Democratic party machinery, with a view to fighting the next Presidential contest upon such issues. The more thoughtful of the railway financiers and corporation leaders are beginning to see that the real alternative now lies between such extreme proposals on the one hand and submission by the companies to fair and proper public regulation on the other hand. From this standpoint, the position taken by President Roosevelt in his demand for further legislation to regulate railroad rates is seen to be the only safe ground for the conservatives. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the victory of Judge Dunne, and the rising tide of public opinion against corporation mismanagement, may con-

vince the reluctant leaders of the United States Senate that it will be necessary to do something when the extra session of Congress is called, in October. All that is expected of them is to join with the House of Representatives in yielding to the moderate public opinion that demands, not that the Government purchase and run the railroads, but that a more efficient kind of government oversight and regulation be adopted.

*New York and the Corporations.*

In New York, the situation is gradually shaping itself for the municipal contest that will culminate in the mayoralty election of November. Nobody can exactly forecast the issues or the lines of cleavage; but it is plain enough at least that the chief issues are almost certain to grow out of the relations between the great public-service corporations and the people of the metropolis. Since our issue of last month, in which mention was made of the beginnings of a legislative investigation into the price and methods of the gas and lighting monopoly of New York City, a large amount of information has been obtained from witnesses, which the newspapers have spread before the people day by day. This testimony has confirmed the belief that the lighting business has been enormously overcapitalized, and that the people, as private users, have been overcharged, while the city, as a public user, has been extortionately dealt with. The people of New York City have been making great progress in their knowledge of the value of their public franchises; but the power of accumulated corporate wealth retards legislation.



Photograph by Collier's Weekly.

MAYOR DUNNE, OF CHICAGO, AND HIS LARGE FAMILY.





Photographed for the New York Tribune.

THE LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE IN SESSION IN THE ALDERMEN'S CHAMBER OF THE NEW YORK CITY HALL.

(Reading from left to right, Charles E. Hughes, counsel; Senator Thomas F. Grady; Senator A. R. Page, Senator F. C. Stevens, chairman; Assemblymen E. A. Merrill, J. K. Apgar, G. B. Agnew.)

*Light Upon  
Corporation  
Control.*

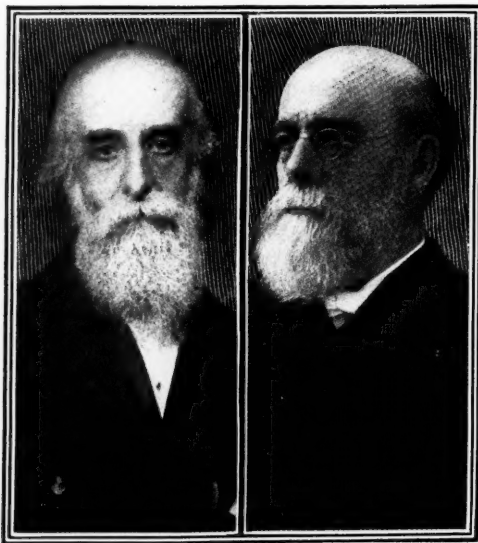
The attacks made upon the management of great corporations, like those in *Everybody's Magazine* and elsewhere, have undoubtedly had a widespread effect upon the public mind. Our present corporate methods have resulted, not merely in the development of vast individual fortunes, but also in a closely concentrated control of the corporate wealth that belongs to many thousands of shareholders and investors. There has come about a situation which calls for careful and thoughtful study. No one is now competent to pronounce a final solution; but it can do no harm to turn on the searchlight of investigation. A notable case in point has been a bitter controversy among those who control the affairs of one of the great life insurance companies. It does not follow from what has come to light that the people who have insured their lives in this or in any other of the great companies have been the victims of misplaced confidence. On the contrary, the principal insurance companies would appear to be, not only solvent, but in a highly flourishing state, with their assets well invested by the ablest financiers and their affairs supervised by men of great capacity and of at least as high character as their fellows in the business world. Yet it is true that to be in control of these companies is to possess a power of tremendous magnitude, with an almost entire immunity from interference on the part of those who are the real owners of the assets. And in the exercise of this arbitrary and unrestrained power over hundreds of millions of dollars there arise opportunities for the acquisition of large fortunes by those who are in authority. In other words, the control of concentrated masses of capital can be so exercised as to secure great and constant financial benefit to the "insiders." Clearly, the managers of the large corporations have too much financial power, and their opportunities to become very rich are greater than is for the best good of the community.

*A Question  
of  
Ethics.*

Hardly less talked about, last month, than the municipal-ownership question, and the question of corporation control growing out of the concentration of vast assets in the hands of a group of men in the financial district of New York, was the question of the duty of agencies for religious, philanthropic, or educational work to sit in judgment upon the business methods of those contributing to the support of good causes. The discussion has had an immense volume, and on both sides much of it has been profound and able as well as candid and sincere. The chief provoking incident was the gift by Mr. Rockefeller of \$100,000 to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a body chiefly supported by the Congregational churches, and famous for its educational and missionary activities in the Turkish Empire, China, and other countries. The management of this missionary board had urgently solicited the money from Mr. Rockefeller;—much of it, indeed, had already been received and expended several months ago. In a more formal way, however, the acceptance of the gift seems to have been deferred, and there arose, last month, a vigorous protest on the part of a number of Congregational ministers in New England and the East, with the support of some of the most prominent Congregationalists of the West, notably Dr. Washington Gladden, of Ohio.

*Whose  
Money Is  
"Tainted?"*

The critics held that Mr. Rockefeller's wealth is largely derived from the Standard Oil Company, and that the methods of this company in the past, if not in the present, have been contrary to Christian ethics. Considered as an exercise in logic, this great discussion, last month, of what was called "tainted money" was far from being complete or conclusive on either side. Men whose general point of view is usually very much alike argued on opposite sides. Thus, Dr. Lyman Abbott differed entirely from Dr.



DR. LYMAN ABBOTT. DR. WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

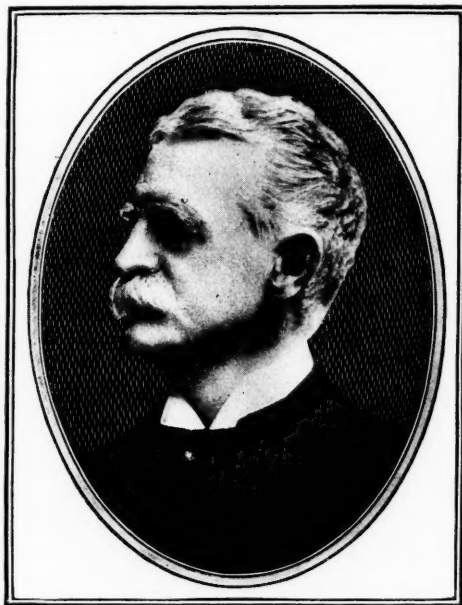
(Dr. Gladden criticises and Dr. Abbott defends the acceptance of Standard Oil money for philanthropic purposes.)

Josiah Strong and Dr. Washington Gladden, Dr. Abbott seeing no just ground for making a scapegoat of the Standard Oil Company, or of Mr. Rockefeller as the president of that business organization. Dr. Abbott does, however, believe that the discussion is valuable as calling attention to the whole question of business morals. The people of the country must remember that the public and private aspects of these questions are almost inextricably blended. Railroad rebates are responsible for many of the largest fortunes in this country, and they have worked grievous wrongs against thousands of men who might otherwise have prospered. But the public itself is to blame for failing to control its own chartered public carriers, so as to protect the rights of the many and to prevent special favors to the few. When railroad rebates were the order of the day in the business world, it is hardly too much to say that all business men, great and small, were ready to take whatever the transportation companies conceded.

*Some Necessary Distinctions.* In these things we must insist, now and henceforth, upon higher standards of justice, better enforced. We must also expect a clearer and higher sense of duty toward his neighbors and fellow-business men, and toward the community at large, upon the part of the individual captain of industry or man of affairs when facing some opportunity to enrich himself by securing advantages that

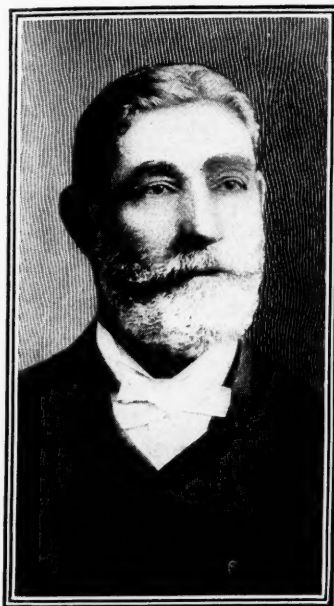
would, presumably, mean an unfair loss to others. But where there is so much that may justly be criticised from the ethical and social standpoint in the economic system of our time, it is not merely invidious, but it is impossible and absurd, to draw an arbitrary objective line and to say, for instance, that Mr. Carnegie's money may be taken and used for good objects, but that Mr. Rockefeller's money must not be so taken and used. Thus, Mr. Carnegie has lately given half a million dollars to the University of Virginia on condition of the early raising of a like amount from other givers; and Mr. Rockefeller last month gave one hundred thousand dollars toward meeting Mr. Carnegie's condition. President Alderman, who was inaugurated on Jefferson's birthday as the first president of the University of Virginia, was very glad to be able to announce both of these gifts, along with other smaller ones; and there did not seem to lie in anybody's mind at the University of Virginia the slightest doubt as to the propriety of taking money from either or both of these gentlemen.

*Dr. Alderman's Way of Putting It.* Dr. Alderman saw very clearly that the real question is whether or not the receiver of gifts can make a truly beneficial use of them. Speaking of the great expansion needful to give the South the university it ought to have, he said:

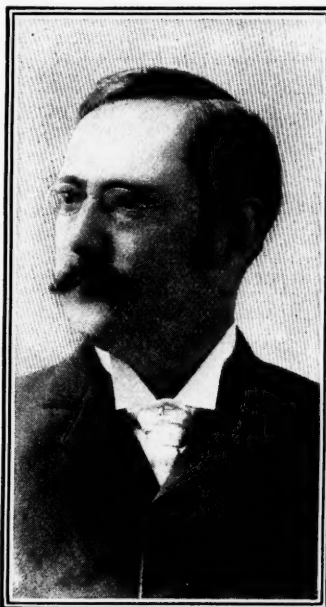


MR. HENRY H. ROGERS.

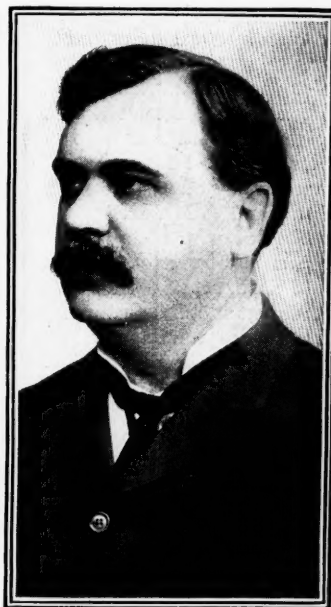
(Who expressed himself last month in defense of the Standard Oil Company as against its critics.)



Mr. Benjamin M. Harrod.



Mr. John F. Wallace.



Judge Charles E. Magoon.

## THREE MEMBERS OF THE PANAMA CANAL COMMISSION.

Money alone cannot make such a university, but vast power is necessary, and though it bear the image and superscription of Caesar, *there is an alchemy of consecration in our laboratories which can transmute money into moral force.*

The whole point lies in the ability of the recipient to use that alchemy "which can transmute money into moral force." Our men of wealth in this country are in undisputed possession of means which they can give away without legal or moral obstacle. If some part of their wealth came to them through defects in our present economic system, or through business methods that ought not to be employed, there may be the more reason why wealth thus acquired should be given by its possessors for purposes of the common welfare. If the management of any college, church or benevolent society feels that in accepting a particular gift it impairs its own freedom of action or speech, or lessens its own capacity for usefulness, it must act from its own standpoint as a recipient. It is, however, not impossible to work hard for the better regulation and control of trusts and monopolies, and at the same time to receive the philanthropic gifts of the rich men who control trusts and monopolies and to use such gifts for the well-being of society. It is not to be thought, for example, that the receiving of large gifts from one multimillionaire

or from another would prevent the University of Virginia, in its department of economics, from giving impartial and scientific study to the question how best to secure a better distribution of the wealth that is produced by the associated effort of all the people.

*The New  
Panama  
Commission.*

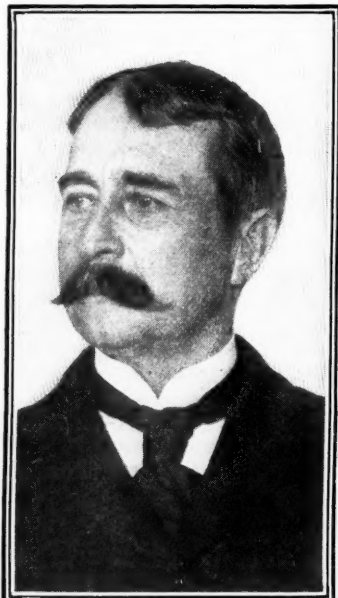
It will be remembered that Congress adjourned on the 4th of March without completing the legislation desired for the better organization of the Panama Canal work. The measures desired by the administration were passed by the House, but failed in the Senate. It was understood that the remodeling of the Panama Commission would await the action of Congress next winter. President Roosevelt, however, found a way to avoid such delay, and before he went off on his Western trip, early in April, the business had practically been carried out. The first step lay in asking the commissioners who had been appointed early last year to send in their resignations, in order that the President might reorganize the commission in a more effective way. Admiral Walker and his colleagues promptly complied. Since the new appointments had to be made under the old law, the same number of commissioners has been retained, although the number had come to be regarded as needlessly large. But the Presi-

dent has practically reduced the size of the commission by creating an executive committee, and by designating the functions and varying the salaries of the appointees. His first idea was to appoint as chairman a man of the most conspicuous abilities, and to give him a very large salary. It is known that the chairmanship was successively offered to Mr. Elihu Root, of New York, and to Mr. Henry C. Frick, of Pittsburg, neither of whom could accept. Failing to obtain a man of such exceptional ability and repute as executive head of the undertaking, the President adopted the plan of confiding the chief direction of the enterprise to an executive committee of three, consisting of the chairman of the commission, the chief engineer, and the governor of the canal zone.

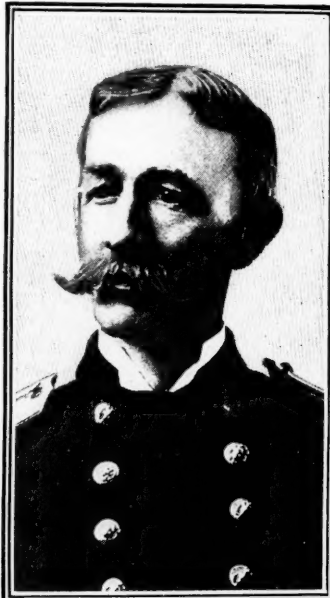
*The Canal Triumvirate*  
Our readers are already familiar with the work of Mr. John F. Wallace, who was appointed last year as chief engineer. He is now a member of the commission, and retains his position as head of the practical work of constructing the canal. For chairman of the commission, President Roosevelt selected a very capable young Western railroad president, Mr. Theodore P. Shonts, head of the Toledo, St. Louis & Western line. Mr. Shonts is a friend and former business associate of Mr. Morton, Secretary of the Navy, through whom he was brought to the President's notice. Mr.

Walter Wellman, elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW, gives some account of the career and character of the man selected as financial and administrative head of the most important piece of public work ever undertaken by any government. Mr. Shonts, who had been wholly unknown to the general public, finds himself suddenly placed in a position where the whole country, and, indeed, the whole civilized world, will know his name and will watch with interest his management of the Panama enterprise. The third member of the executive committee is Judge Charles E. Magoon, who becomes governor of the canal zone, and is also, it is said, to be American minister to Panama, thus representing our government in political, legal, and diplomatic affairs. Judge Magoon, as a high official in that bureau of the War Department which is charged with the carrying on of our insular affairs, and which for a time was practically in charge of the government of Cuba, was one of Secretary Root's most valued assistants, and is regarded as possessing unusual qualifications for his new position.

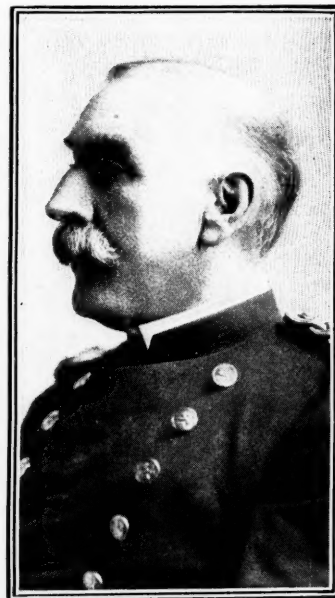
*Further Reorganization.*  
Under the requirement of the old law, as representatives of the army and the navy, Rear-Admiral Endicott, Brig.-Gen. Peter C. Hains, and Col. Oswald H. Ernst, of the Corps of Engineers, are members of the new commission. Mr. Benjamin M.



Brig.-Gen. Peter C. Hains.



Rear-Admiral M. T. Endicott.

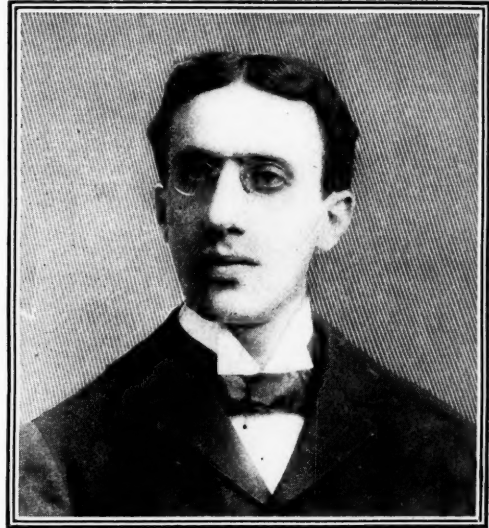


Col. Oswald H. Ernst.

THREE MEMBERS OF THE PANAMA CANAL COMMISSION



Harrod, of New Orleans, the well-known Mississippi River expert, is retained from the former commission. A salary of \$7,500 is allowed to each commissioner, with extra compensation of \$22,500 to the president, making the compensation of Mr. Shonts \$30,000, and with enough added to keep the salary of Mr. Wallace, the chief engineer, at \$25,000, and to bring that of Judge Magoon, governor of the canal zone, up to \$17,500. Mr. Shonts, as chairman, will doubtless join Mr. Wallace and Judge Magoon in making his personal headquarters at the Isthmus, and the other members of the commission will go there for quarterly sessions. There is to be a consulting board of nine engineers, to which Mr. Parsons and Mr. Burr of the old commission have been appointed. Our government has informed the governments of Great Britain, France, and Germany that it would be glad to have the services of a distinguished engineer from each of those countries for membership in this consulting board. Doubtless, the deliberations of this board of experts will help the government at Washington to decide the great question whether or not to build a sea level canal or one with locks. Without disparagement to the gentlemen of the retiring commission, it is to be said that the reorganization will probably make for a much higher degree of efficiency. The former commission was better devised for counsel than for action. The United States Government now holds nearly all the



DR. JACOB H. HOLLANDER.  
(Special commissioner to Santo Domingo.)

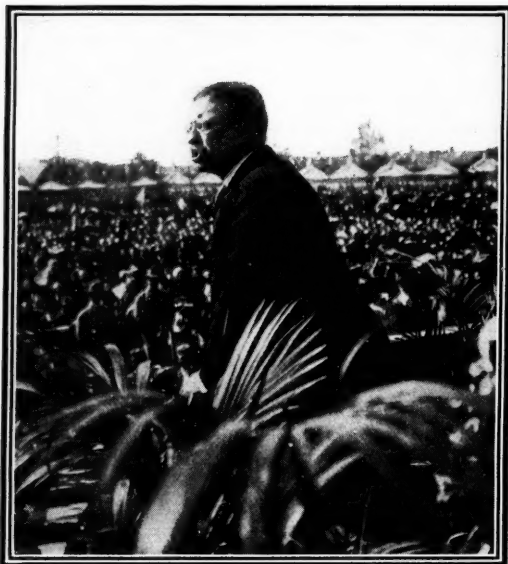
stock of the Panama Railroad. At the annual meeting of that corporation, last month, the newly appointed members of the Canal Commission were made directors.

*The Santo  
Domingo  
Situation.*

Although the Senate failed to ratify the Santo Domingo treaty, it has been regarded as wholly probable that ratification will be secured at the next session of Congress. This treaty provided a way by which Santo Domingo would be protected against forcible debt collecting expeditions from Europe. It proposed to place the United States Government in charge of the revenues, in order to employ an agreed upon proportion of the public income for the paying off of foreign creditors. The situation has been so pressing that President Morales, of Santo Domingo, has proposed to our minister, Mr. Dawson, that an arrangement of practically the same sort be put into effect at once in order to preserve the *status quo* and prevent coercion by European warships in the period that must intervene before the United States Senate can act. Accordingly, it has been arranged that Americans shall collect the custom-house revenues, turn 45 per cent. over to the government of Santo Domingo for current expenses, and deposit the remaining 55 per cent. in a New York bank to be held until action by the Senate on the pending treaty. If the Senate act favorably, the money accumulated in New York will be used to make installment payments upon the foreign claims. If the Senate act un-



MR. THOMAS C. DAWSON.  
(American minister to Santo Domingo.)



From a stereograph, copyrighted, 1905, by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SPEAKING TO THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE AT WACO, TEXAS, LAST MONTH.

favorably, the money will be returned to the Dominican Government. The President has, meanwhile, sent Professor Hollander, of the Johns Hopkins University, to look into the question of the extent and validity of the foreign indebtedness. It is to be hoped that the Senate may in due time ratify the treaty. In the absence of the President from Washington, and with the Secretary of State in Europe, Mr. Taft, Secretary of War, has been virtually at the head of the administration, since, by the President's direction, he has been consulted on all important questions belonging to the State Department. Later in the season, after the President's return, Mr. Taft, accompanied by a number of members of Congress, is to make a journey to the Philippines for closer examination of the existing conditions.

*The President's Vacation.*

In accordance with his long-formed plans, President Roosevelt left Washington on April 3 for Texas, his main object being to attend a reunion of members of the Rough Rider Regiment. He made a number of brief speeches in Texas and on the way there, and was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm and tokens of universal good-will. After several days spent in hunting across the border of Texas in southern Oklahoma, the President's party started for their chief rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado. The

Oklahoma hunt had secured numerous wolves and smaller game, and had in particular given the President some long days of hard horseback riding in the Kiowa-Comanche country. Refreshment and exhilaration always come to him from such an experience. It was an excellent preparation for the weeks of isolated mountaineering, and hunting for grizzly bear and cougar, that lay immediately before him. In the opening number of the *Country Calendar*, a new magazine devoted to out-of-door affairs, ex-President Cleveland writes wisely and entertainingly upon the good that comes from hunting and fishing to men whose ordinary pursuits are mental and sedentary. It is quite in the spirit of the ex-President's article that President Roosevelt is off in the mountains for well-earned recreation, and for the refreshment of body and mind that he needs in view of the four years of tense and critical public life to which the American people have called him, and from which they justly expect a public service of the highest order and the most far-reaching significance.

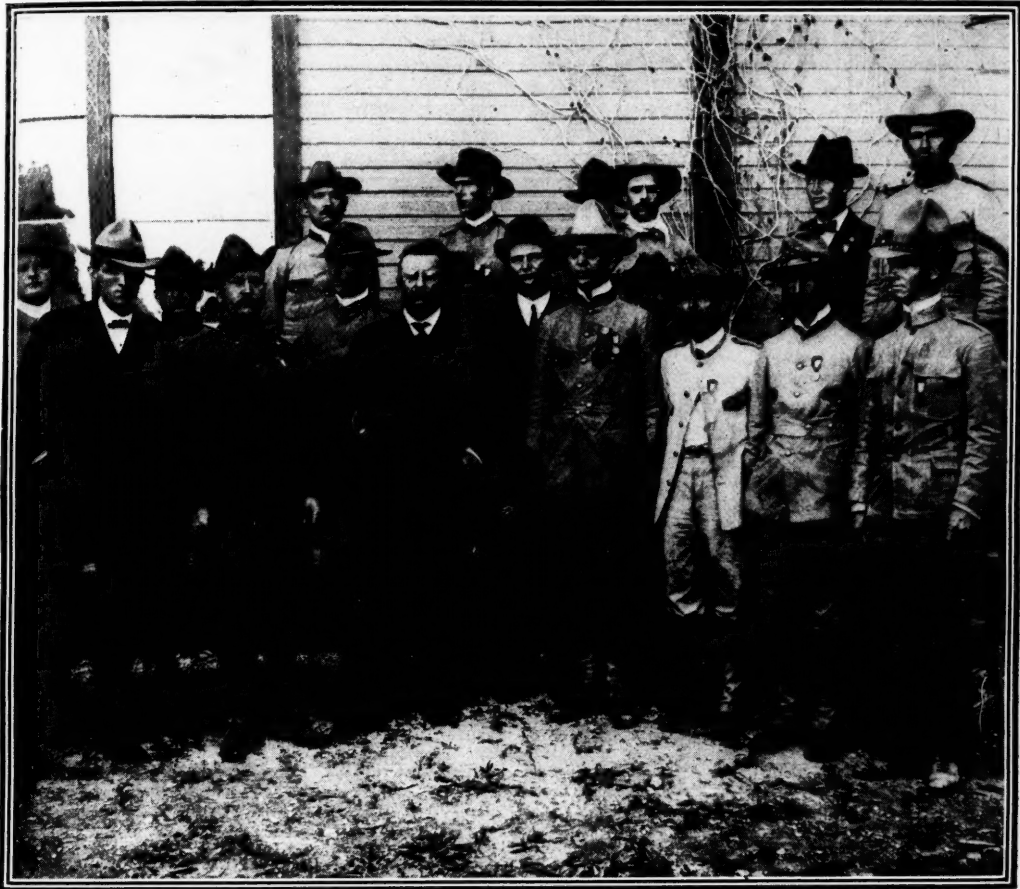
*The Work of a President.*

The chief work of a man situated as President Roosevelt is consists in deciding about things. It is true that the President writes state papers, makes speeches, talks with people many hours every day, keeps alive his knowledge of government work in detail by conference with cabinet officers and



From a cartoon by McCutcheon in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*.

"A QUIET DAY" IN THE PRESIDENT'S WESTERN VACATION.



From a stereograph, copyrighted, 1905, by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

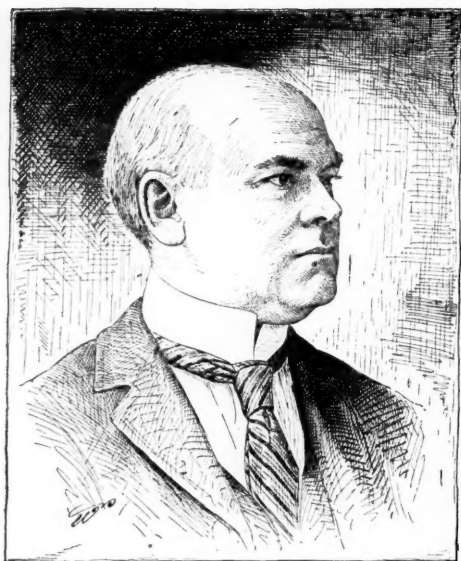
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND A NUMBER OF THE SAN JUAN HEROES, AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

other public officials, and thus fills his day very full with conference, correspondence, and the like. But all these things which keep alive his intelligence and give him wide and intimate touch with public affairs are merely for the sake of enabling him to decide for or against the innumerable things that he has to confront. Every working day at Washington demands from him the making of many decisions, some of which are of vast concern. In view of all this, the President needs to cultivate health and vigor beyond any other man in the world. For the will cannot work to good advantage where nerves are depleted, digestion impaired, or the mind warped by too close and long-continued application to routine without change of thought and scene. Such are the reasons why President Roosevelt is away on his vacation in the mountains. The publicity of it all, the ten thousand

friendly but jocose paragraphs in the newspapers, the hundreds of cartoons, all on this same theme, are not what the President desires, but what he has to put up with as our foremost public character.

*The  
Philippine  
Census.*

The census of the Philippine Islands having been completed, a general election will be called, in accordance with the act of July 1, 1902, for the purpose of choosing delegates to a popular assembly. As a result of the census enumeration, much important information has been secured relating to the agriculture, schools, railroads, and industries of the archipelago. The total population as returned from 342 independent islands is 7,635,426. Of this number, almost 7,000,000 are more or less civilized, wild tribes forming about 9 per cent. of the entire population. The total



GEN. JAMES F. SMITH.

(Secretary of public instruction for the Philippines.)

population, according to the most reliable data is a little more than four times as great as it was one hundred years ago. The excess of birth rate over death rate has been large, in spite of losses resulting from epidemics of various diseases. The density of population in the Philippines is 67 per square mile, as against 26 per square mile in the continental area of the United States. It was found that more than half of the population could neither read nor write in any language. Less than one-half of those able to read could write, while the number able to both read and write constituted only one-fifth of the population ten years of age and older. It is stated that the opposition to the study of English is diminishing, and that 11 per cent. of the pupils in the schools are reported as understanding the language. Apart from facts elicited by this census, the information that we have in this country regarding the Philippine school system is, on the whole, decidedly encouraging. The increase in the number of children attending the public schools during the past two years has been remarkable. In September, 1903, 182,202 pupils were reported in attendance. One year later,—in September, 1904,—there were 342,000 in attendance, while estimates furnished to the general superintendent of education for the months of October and November, 1904, showed a grand total approximating 364,000 pupils,—an increase of 100 per cent. in fourteen months. As a single item of school conditions

in the islands, it is interesting to note that there was an attendance of 12,000 in the night schools, many of the pupils in these schools being adults who were engaged in acquiring the English language. It was reported last month that American capital was seriously interested in the Philippine railroad project, for which the Government guarantees 4 per cent. on the investment. It was estimated that the proposed lines of railroad will cost \$20,000,000. They will aggregate in length about nine hundred miles.

*The Question of Freight Rates.* The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce has opened a series of hearings on the subject of railroad-rate legislation. Various propositions have been made by experts and students of the question, with a view to establishing some system of national regulation of rates. One of these is set forth in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month," on page 619. Of those propositions which may be said to represent the public as distinct from the traffic managers, perhaps the most significant is that of President Hadley, of Yale University. It seems to President Hadley that much might be accomplished by the creation of a special tribunal having jurisdiction over railroads and coördinate in authority with the present circuit courts. A judicial tribunal thus constituted might set aside unreasonable rates at the instance of a complainant, and might even indicate how much rates will have to be reduced in order to be reasonable. President Hadley would transform the Interstate Commerce Commission itself into a board of experts composed of practical railroad men,—three from the traffic department and one each from the operating and financial departments. It would be the business of the commission to ascertain matters of fact on which the court may base its decisions. The Interstate Commerce Commission has resumed its investigation of the private-car lines, concerning which important testimony was adduced a few months ago.

*New Tax Laws.*

Aside from the New York City legislation, the bills in the State legislature at Albany which have aroused the most discussion during the present session have been those providing for the taxation of mortgages and the taxation of stock transfers. The former measure imposes a tax of one-half of one per cent. upon all mortgages recorded subsequent to June 1, next. The other bill imposes a stamp tax of 2 cents per \$100, or \$2 per 100 shares, on the sale or transfer of stock shares. The argument chiefly employed against the mortgage-tax bill is that the effect of such a



measure would be to impose a double tax on all mortgaged real estate, thus tending to check the improvement of property and to drive capital from the State. It is denied, however, by the sponsors of the bill that the rate of interest on mortgages will be increased by its operation, although that is the result most generally looked for by the debtor class. As to the stamp tax on stock transfers, the arguments used for similar taxes imposed by the general government in



THE CAPITALIST LANDLORD: "My tenant'll pay it."  
From the *Herald* (New York).

time of war are applied to this State tax. It is lucrative, and easily collected. It will, of course, affect thousands of stock transactions on the New York Exchange between persons who are not citizens of the State of New York. The Legislature of Texas has increased the annual franchise tax imposed upon corporations doing business in the State. This is a tax on the authorized capital stock of corporations.

**With the Farmers.** The vigorous interest of Americans in the movement back to the country is shown this spring in a flood of books dealing with gardening, farming problems, poultry-keeping, the care of domestic animals, country home-making, and nature-study. This movement, in which the real countryman, the farmer, joins by his new enthusiasm for and understanding of his own vocation, has been gathering force for several years, but is more striking in 1905 than ever before. Perhaps America is so big and resourceful that every wholesome American can be a country gentleman, just as every Englishman of a certain class is supposed to have his country estate and a knowledge of and interest in the crops and farming conditions and the game-supply. The intensity of our interest in the country

home, the garden, and open-air pursuits is strikingly exemplified in the immediate success of the *Country Calendar*, the new magazine whose aims are described elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. It is a good year, too, for farmers, both those amateurs who farm for farming's sake and the man whose living is won from the soil. The Department of Agriculture reports the average condition of winter wheat last month as 91.6, the best average in an entire decade. Statisticians figure out that this should mean a total crop of nearly 480,000,000 bushels. The unseasonable cold weather of mid-April has probably done some harm to truck farming and peach orchards in the South, but seems to have let off the Northern and Eastern States with comparatively little damage.

**A Few Notes on Education.** In the field of higher education, one of the interesting developments of the last few weeks was the announce-

ment by Mr. Andrew Carnegie of his intention to bestow his bounty, in the future, on small colleges rather than on libraries. Generous gifts to the endowment funds of several of the smaller colleges of the middle West have already been reported. In some cases, Mr. Carnegie conditions the gift upon the securing of an equal sum from other sources. This is in line with the principle adopted some years ago by Dr. D. K. Pearsons, who has just announced his purpose to aid a number of struggling institu-



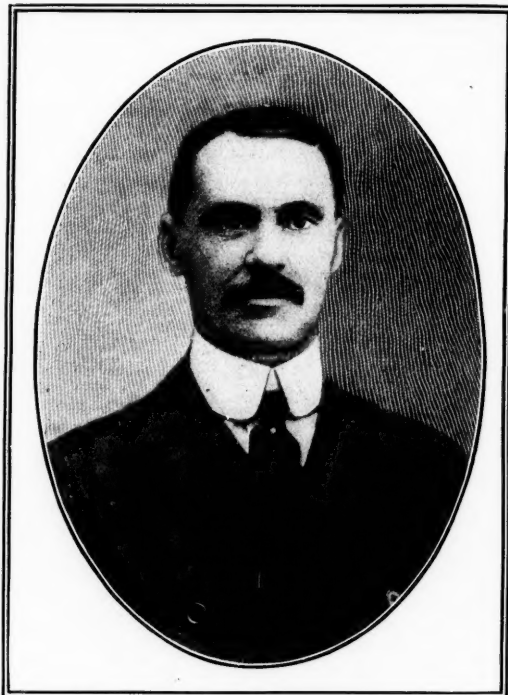
"ANDY'S OTHER LEG."

THE SMALL COLLEGE: "This leg is shorter than it really ought to be."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

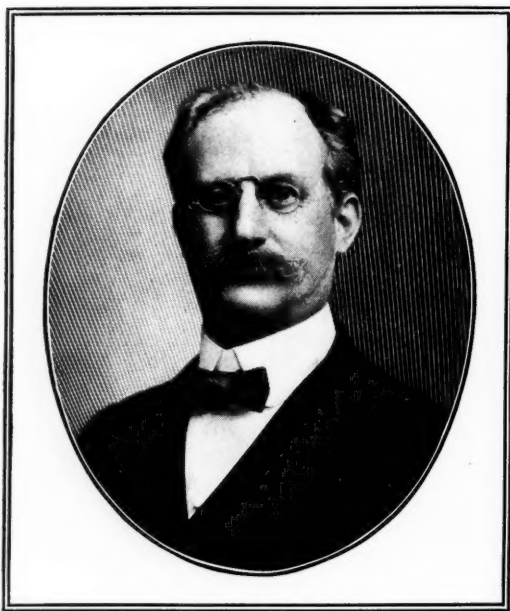
tions in the South. Dr. Alderman's inauguration as president of the University of Virginia, on Jefferson's birthday, brought together a group of eminent educational leaders. Professor Brown Ayres, who has been a member of the faculty of Tulane University, of Louisiana, for the past twenty-five years, was installed as president of the University of Tennessee on April 26. The South's profound interest in education has been manifested of late in many ways. The eighth annual meeting of the Conference for Education in the South will have been held at Columbia, S. C., before these pages are read. The summer school that has been maintained for some years at Knoxville, Tenn., greatly to the benefit of Southern schools and teachers, will be open during the coming season. In the country at large there is promise of the usual number of largely attended conventions and other gatherings devoted to various educational and professional interests. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW or REVIEWS there is printed a list of more than one hundred such meetings, scheduled for the remaining eight months of 1905.

*The School  
Question  
in Canada.*

Following the somewhat acrimonious comment in the Canadian press on the failure of the Hay-Bond treaty and the discrimination of the Newfoundland legislature against American fishermen (a dis-



HON. F. W. G. HAULTAIN, OF ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN.



PROFESSOR BROWN AYRES.

(The new president of the University of Tennessee.)

cussion of this whole subject will appear in this REVIEW for June), and the ripple of excitement over the resignation of the Hon. S. N. Parent, premier of the Province of Quebec, because of dissensions in the Liberal party, there had been more widespread and emphatic opposition to the separate-school clauses in the measure for the incorporation of the two new Canadian provinces. Charges that undue ecclesiastical influence had been exerted in behalf of separate schools had been made. The religious question has always been a very important one in the Dominion, and several times it has forced its way into school matters, causing considerable bitterness. It will be remembered that in 1896 the Conservative government of Sir Charles Tupper pronounced in favor of separate schools for Manitoba, and in consequence was overwhelmingly defeated at the following general elections. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who succeeded Sir Charles Tupper, settled the question on the basis of provincial rights, and Manitoba has an excellent and united school system to-day. In the Canadian territories, schools, both Protestant and Catholic, are practically public schools, under the entire supervision of the territorial government. It is not the general curriculum, but the question of

the half-hour of religious exercises every afternoon (which is permitted but not enjoined), that is making the trouble. Already it has brought about the resignation of the Hon. Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior, and brought a strong open letter of protest from Premier Haultain, of the territories (Alberta and Saskatchewan) which are to be made provinces. Protests and resolutions against the measure (which is still open), from churches and other representative gatherings, had poured into the capital. Prominent Liberal leaders, and Liberal newspaper organs like the *Toronto Globe* and the *Montreal Witness*, are strong in their protest against the stand taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who desires to continue this privilege of religious exercises daily.

*The Venezuelan Complications.* Although President Castro's curt refusal to accept the proposition of the United States Government for the arbitration of the different American claims against Venezuela is irritating, and even provocative, it will not force our government into any rash or inconsiderate action. Late in March, with France, Holland, and Italy pressing their various claims, Mr. Bowen, the American minister at Caracas, under instructions from Washington, had delivered what was practically an ultimatum to President Castro, to the effect that he should arbitrate the pending disputes or the United States would be obliged to take matters into its own hands. President Castro, in reply, had peremptorily told Mr. Bowen that he would not arbitrate. Some time before this, however, Castro had, through one of his European agents, arranged to consolidate the entire foreign debt of Venezuela (which is now held principally



THE RECONCILIATION OF CHILE AND PERU.  
(Showing the national coats-of-arms of both countries.)  
From *Sucesos* (Valparaiso).

in Italy and Germany), and, in payment of interest on this consolidated debt, to apply 50 per cent. of the receipts from all the Venezuelan custom-houses except La Guayra and Puerto Cabello. The customs of these two ports had already been set aside for payment of the claims of the allies awarded several years ago by the Hague court. Other actions against Venezuela had been pending in the cases of the French Cable Company and the American Asphalt Company, in both of which cases practically a confiscation of property had been effected by the Castro government. It had been Castro's contention that, the Supreme Court of Venezuela having rendered its decision, he could do nothing. Meanwhile, the Venezuela receiver for the property of the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company continues to mine and sell asphalt without any recognition of the company's claims.



A VENEZUELAN FANDANGO.

This is the way a German comic paper (*Kladderadatsch*, of Berlin) regards President Castro's "defiance" of Europe and Uncle Sam.

*Other Latin-American Affairs.* With the exception of Venezuela, South American countries had been enjoying periods of quiet and prosperity. Within a few weeks there had come about a final settlement of all differences between Chile and Peru, growing out of a desper-

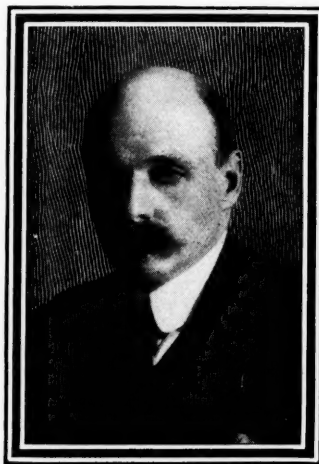
ate war, a few years ago, which resulted in the loss by Peru of some rich seaboard provinces. Speaking generally, the tendency of the more important South American states is now toward stability and much improved neighborly relations. In Central America, also, there had been an important settlement of a long-standing dispute,—that of the boundary between Panama and Costa Rica. Mexican prosperity had been emphasized by the adoption, on the 1st of this month, of the gold standard. In the West Indies, Santo Domingo had been claiming the greater share of attention by reason of its unsettled and revolutionary state. The republic of Cuba, on the other hand, had just passed through a most prosperous year. In his message to the Congress, on April 3, President Palma stated that last year the imports of the island had increased by \$15,000,000 over those of the preceding year. About 60 per cent. of this increase appears in the American account. The new cabinet includes Juan Francisco O'Farrell, secretary of state and justice; Gen. Freyre Andrade, secretary of government; Gen. Ruis Rivera, secretary of the treasury; Eduardo Yero, secretary of public instruction; and Gen. Rafael Montalvo, secretary of public works.

*British Politics.*

On the eve of a dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the British electorate, which, it is generally assumed, will result in a substantial Liberal victory, our British friends are interested in the fate of Mr. Chamberlain's protective-policy scheme, which has practically disrupted the Conservative party, and in the appointment of several new high government officials. Chancellor of the Exchequer Austen Chamberlain, in his budget report to the Commons, on April 10, presented a very favorable statement of British finances. He stated that the revenue of the year just closed exceeded his estimate by nearly fifteen million dollars, so the heavy deficit of last year will be much reduced. The general political situation in Great Britain, with a little about the probable Liberal leaders in the next Parliament, is outlined in the article, "Three of the Leaders of the Next British Parliament," on another page of this issue of the Review. Much is expected from the appointment of Mr. Walter Hume Long to succeed Mr. George Wyndham as chief secretary for Ireland, although the Liberal leader in the House, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, had refused to put the party on record in the matter of Irish home rule. Another administrative change of great moment to the empire had been Lord Selborne's appointment to fill Lord Milner's place in South Africa.

*Imperial Affairs.*

A hint as to the make-up of the next cabinet had been given by Mr. John Morley at the reception tendered him by the League of Young Liberals in London last month. In his speech, Mr. Morley had declared that the next cabinet would probably contain a Labor member. It had become an open secret in England that the coming ministry would contain at least three new members. Two of these had



RT. HON. WALTER HUME LONG.  
(New chief secretary for Ireland, succeeding Mr. George Wyndham.)

been thought to be Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Winston Churchill. The Labor member, it is now believed, will be Mr. John Burns. At the other end of the empire, the new Transvaal constitution had been signed at about the time Lord Selborne sailed to take up his duties as high commissioner of South Africa. For Australia, also, an impor-

tant imperial development had been the announcement by the postmaster-general that at last the penny postage was to be extended to Australia, making it now possible for English letters with a penny stamp (two cents) to reach Australia. King Edward and Queen Alexandra had begun their spring visits. The Queen had spent some weeks in Portugal, and the King, after passing a few hours in Tangier at a significantly short interval after the Kaiser's visit to that place, had gone north to Copenhagen, it was rumored, where, the general belief in England had it, he would try to persuade his sister-in-law, the Dowager-Empress of Russia, mother of the Czar, to use her influence in favor of bringing about peace between Russia and Japan.

*Norway's Differences With Sweden.*

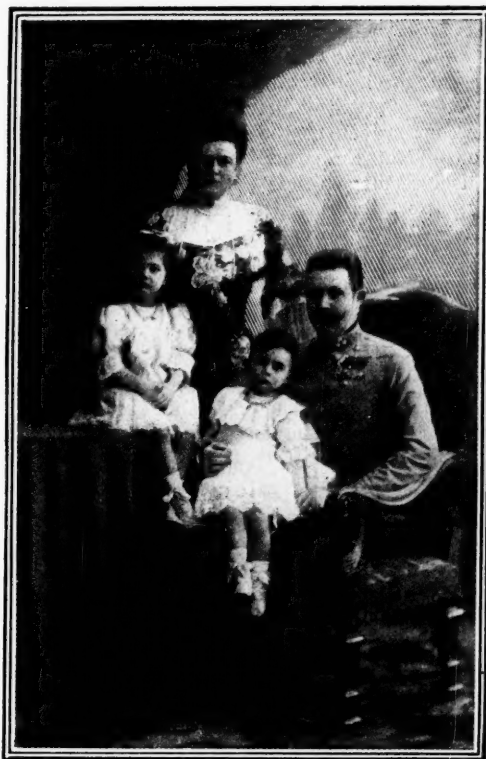
In Norway, during early March, the Hagerup ministry had fallen because of its attitude on the question of the constitutional right of Norway to a separate consular service. The new cabinet, which is headed by Mr. P. C. H. K. Michelsen, will demand a separate Norwegian consular service. Premier Michelsen holds, also, the portfolio of justice, while his predecessor, Mr. Hagerup, be-



comes one of the resident Norwegian ministers at Stockholm. The strained relations between the two Scandinavian nations over the question of separate consular services have more than once resulted in almost complete rupture. The Norwegian contention is based upon the fact that the Riksakt, or treaty of union, made in 1815, says nothing about the consular service, which is, by implication, left to the two states individually. Norway also cites her old constitution, the Grundlov, which speaks of Norwegian consuls, and which the Swedish King has pledged himself to support. The Grundlov, however, sanctioned the appointment of foreigners as consuls, and therefore Sweden justifies the exclusive employment of Swedes in this capacity. The different industrial development of the two countries has caused a separation of their commercial policies, until now Norway, as a shipbuilding country, stands practically for free trade, while Sweden has developed its manufacturing industries mainly under a protective policy. According to the agreement of 1885, the King is bound to employ only a Swedish foreign minister. As this places Norwegian international interests under a Swedish minister, who is not responsible to the Norwegian Parliament, considerable dissatisfaction has been aroused in Norway. In March of 1903, after repeated vain efforts, it was agreed that there should be separate consular services; but since then, owing to disagreement over the power of the Swedish minister to control the consular services, nothing has been accomplished. Now Norway has determined to take the matter into her own hands. Early in April, the Regent, Crown Prince Gustav, who is acting King, had announced the government scheme of conciliation, which provided for a common foreign minister with a special consular service for each country, to be under the direction of the foreign minister in all matters affecting foreign relations. The foregoing seemed to be the maximum which Sweden was willing to concede. But it is not acceptable to Norway, and the end is not yet.

*In France  
and  
Austria.*

Political questions of more or less acute nature, and involving the stability of government, had been agitating some of the other countries of central Europe. In France, the bill consummating the formal separation of Church and State was passed in the Chamber on April 12, by a vote of 422 to 45. It is a simple measure, and its substance is found in this sentence: "The republic assures liberty of conscience and guarantees the free exercise of religion, the only restrictions being those in the interest of public order." Thus, Premier Rouvier carries out the policy of his predecessor.



THE ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND, HEIR TO THE THRONE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, AND HIS FAMILY.

He will now devote himself to the other items in his programme, notably the income tax. France is generally enjoying quiet and prosperity. Last month, however, a somewhat aggravated strike situation had been created at Limoges among the workmen at the porcelain works, which the military had to be called out to suppress. The Austro-Hungarian crisis had deepened. The decided victory for the Independent party in Hungary had brought a serious situation to the front in the inability of Emperor Francis Joseph to find a leader for even a temporary Hungarian cabinet. The Emperor had been unable to effect a compromise with the Hungarian Nationalists in the matter of the language question in the Hungarian army. An increase in the tension is expected on May 3, when the Parliament again meets and the discussion of the speech to the throne will begin.

*The  
Kaiser's  
Policy.*

The temporary relegation of Russia to the list of secondary powers, loosening, as it has, the bonds of the Dual Alliance, and the drawing away of Italy from Austria and Germany, thus making the dissolution of the Triple Alliance only a question

of a short time, is apparently bringing about a disintegration of the main groups of European powers, and the German Kaiser, as usual, is the first monarch in the field to lay down the lines of suggested new alliances. To begin with, in a recent speech at the unveiling of the monument of the Emperor Frederick at Bremen, the Kaiser reaffirmed the pacific character of his policy. Recalling how, while a boy, he had been enraged at the weakness of the German navy, he declared that this early feeling had inspired his entire naval policy, not for aggression, but for the purpose of inspiring the respect of the rest of the world. It is his aim, he declared, to "do everything possible to let bayonets and cannon rest, but to keep the bayonets sharp and the cannon ready, so that envy and greed shall not disturb us in tending our garden or building our beautiful house." Further, he said :

I vowed never to strike for world-mastery. The world-power that I then dreamed of was to create for the German Empire on all sides the most absolute confidence as a quiet, honest, and peaceable neighbor. I

have vowed that if ever the time comes that history shall speak of a German world-power, or a Hohenzollern world-power, this should not be based upon conquest, but should come through the mutual striving of nations after common purposes.

It must be admitted that, although the Kaiser has made a number of flamboyant speeches and has used the mailed fist in China and southwest Africa, he has, in the main, studied the peace of the world, and, in developing the industrial and commercial resources of his empire, he has won the respect of the world and its confidence in his integrity of purpose.

*Germany  
and  
Morocco.*

One of these flamboyant speeches, which have so often seemed to threaten the tranquillity of the world, was made by Kaiser Wilhelm during his short stay of only a few hours at Tangier, Morocco, in the course of a holiday sea trip which he began several weeks ago. Speaking to the German residents, who control about one-fifth of the export trade of Morocco, the Kaiser said :

I am happy to recognize in you devoted pioneers of German industry and commerce, who are helping me in the task of always upbuilding in a free country the interests of the motherland. The sovereignty and integrity of Morocco will be maintained. In an independent country such as Morocco, commerce must be free. I will do my best to maintain its politico-economic equity.

This, at a time when France is trying to set on foot that policy of pacific permeation which she has been free to adopt since the Anglo-French convention of last year, approved by the Franco-Spanish agreement of several months later, had seemed calculated to make mischief. It had looked like a notice served on France that Russia's extremity was Germany's opportunity, and that the Kaiser is determined to again bring Germany to the center of the stage. The speech had caused a flutter of excitement in the European chancelleries, but in an address to the Chamber of Deputies immediately after the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier the French foreign minister, M. Delcassé, had given ample assurance of the fairness of French policy. He had declared that France "had to seek a remedy for the intolerable situation in Morocco without allowing her action to awaken the suspicion of other nations." France, he continued, "does not pretend to base her interests on disregard for the interests of others." It had been reported that the Kaiser would appeal for recognition of his claims against France's special interest in Morocco to England, the United States, Spain, and Italy, the American interest being assumed on the basis of our



THE GERMAN KAISER IN MOROCCO.

DELCASSÉ: "Look here! Can't you pass without crowding us both to the wall?"

From the *Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam).

recent efforts to release Mr. Perdicaris from his captivity by the Moorish chieftain, Raissuli. These powers, however, had already assured France of their good wishes toward the republic in her policy in Morocco. Germany's contention for the "open door" in the Moorish kingdom is, of course, in line with the policy of all the commercial nations. It is a pity that the Kaiser does not advocate this policy in China.

*The New  
Italian Minis-  
try and Its  
Policy.*

The Italian Parliament reassembled on April 4. The new premier, Signor Fortis, in the official declaration of principles, had announced the government's intention to carry out the general features of the programme offered by Signor Giolitti, who had been defeated owing, mainly, to the serious situation with regard to the proposition that the government take over all the railroads of the kingdom. According to the new premier, the policy of the former ministry will be maintained with regard to foreign relations, the strengthening of the defenses of the country, and the reform of the finances and taxation. State management of railways will be the new policy. Government control of railways, it is believed, will better the condition of the employees, who under private ownership have suffered considerably from low wages and the irregular application of legislation. Economic and agricultural questions are particularly important to the Italy of to-day, and his Majesty King Victor Emmanuel III. has shown his broad statesmanship in his recently issued invitation to the nations of the world to participate in a conference (to be held in Rome, on May 28) to arrange for the establishment of an international chamber of agriculture. On another page of this issue (599) a statement of this proposition, with Italian comment, is given.

*India  
and the  
Near East.*

A series of severe and destructive earthquake shocks in the Lahore district of northern India, in early April, in which over four thousand people lost their lives and much property was destroyed, had turned the attention of the world to the great Himalaya region where so much of the world's politics are at present being made. The earthquake razed almost a dozen large towns in the Punjab, particularly in the Kashmir Valley, and even in Lahore and Simla many buildings were destroyed. Details have not yet reached the outside world, owing to the destruction of telegraph lines in the affected area. In general, however, British India has been prosperous during the years of Lord Curzon's administration, and even such visitations of na-

ture as famines and earthquakes, to which the peninsula has been so often subjected in the past, have spared her in recent years. Financially, also, India is in good condition, the budget for 1904-05 being estimated for a surplus of some sixteen million dollars.

*World-  
Politics  
in Asia.*

The world-movements which have gradually been grouping themselves around British India as a center have been very distinctly emphasized by the Russo-Japanese war. It has been claimed in Russia and in the other Continental nations, which are generally suspicious of the expansion of the British Empire, that the recent expedition to Tibet, under Colonel Younghusband, represented a British appreciation of Russia's difficulties and an intention to take advantage of them in extending Britain's Indian empire so as to control the head waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang River, in the valley and at the mouth of which lies England's richest Chinese sphere. Russian effort toward the absorption of Persia and the reduction of Afghanistan had been evident. Some months ago, a Russian occupation of the eastern Chinese province of Kashgar had been reported, and early in April it had been announced by the Indian correspondent of the London *Times* that the Khanate of Bokhara, including all the posts on the Oxus River, had been occupied by a Russian military force. Meanwhile, the British mission, headed by Mr. Dane, to the Amir of Afghanistan still remains at Kabul. Whether, as announced, this mission has the rectification of trade relations in view solely, or is intended to counteract Russia's efforts to cross Afghanistan and secure a port on the Persian Gulf, are subjects for speculation. There are those who believe that Lord Curzon is really looking for an opportunity to test the value of the reforms which Lord Kitchener has introduced into the organization of the Indian army.

*The  
Manchurian  
Campaign.*

With the capture of Tie Pass by the Japanese (March 16), the battle of Mukden proper had ended. General Linevitch, who had succeeded General Kuropatkin as commander-in-chief of the Russian forces (Kuropatkin assuming immediate command of General Linevitch's army), had reorganized as best he could the shattered Russian forces and retreated along the line of the railway toward Harbin, converting the whole country into a desert as he marched. The Japanese pursuit had been slow and deliberate, and, while the censorship had kept any definite information from leaking out, the consensus of the reports circulated by the middle of April had been to



AN HISTORICAL MAP OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR TO DATE.

(Showing the northward advance of the Japanese over Manchuria, the battles, and their dates.)

the effect that Marshal Oyama had sent out large forces toward both east and west, with the object of occupying the large and important cities of Tsitsikar (three hundred miles to the west) and Kirin (to the east). General Kawamura had been generally believed to be advancing from Korea toward Kirin with the fifth Japanese army, and Marshal Oyama had announced that this city would be occupied before the end of April, preliminary to the complete cutting off of Vladivostok. Tsitsikar is an important Chinese city close to the Mongolian border, and has been an important base of supplies for the Russians. The occupation of Kirin would give Oyama practical control of the hinterland of

Vladivostok, which is already blockaded from the seaward side by Japanese warships under the command, it is believed, of Admiral Kamimura. As the battle of Mukden recedes into its proper perspective it becomes more and more evident that in that action the Japanese and Russians fought the greatest battle of modern times. The losses were enormous (see details of the battle in our "Leading Article" on page 604 of this issue). In the first interview that he has granted, Field Marshal Oyama speaks of his foes in very high terms. He refers to the Russian officers and troops as brave soldiers, and expresses much respect for the fighting qualities of the Russian private.



*The Military  
Situation  
Further.*

With the appointment of General Linevitch as commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the far East came the resignations of General Sakharoff (Kuropatkin's chief of staff) and General Stachelberg,—the former on account of differences with Linevitch, and Stachelberg because of broken-down health. The latter general, it will be remembered, was defeated by the Japanese at Vangow, or Telissu (on June 14-17, 1904), while trying to relieve Port Arthur. He has, however, been one of the hardest-fighting generals on the Russian side. Other changes had been announced in the war office at St. Petersburg. General Suklominoff had been appointed minister of war to succeed Minister Sakharoff, and the Czar had appointed General Dragomiroff, the veteran of the Turkish wars, as a kind of imperial military adviser. Before leaving the war office, General Sakharoff, stung by the many criticisms of his department in forwarding troops to the far East, had given out a statement that since the beginning of the war the Siberian Railroad had transported to Harbin 761,000 soldiers, 13,000 officers, 146,000 horses, more than 1,500 guns, and more than 350,000 tons of stores. If, as has been admitted, there were not more than 60,000 Russians in Manchuria when the war began, and if, as the most reliable figures indicate, there are not more than 300,000 men there now, Russia has lost, in the fourteen months of the war, more than half a million men. It is more probable, however, that these figures represent the paper strength of the forces sent. Either way, the result is anything but complimentary to the imperial war office. The anti-peace party, however, still talks of sending men to the front, and it is reported that the garrison at Vladivostok has already been increased to 100,000 men. On the other hand, Japan is preparing to double her present army in the field. According to reports from Tokio, early in April, the Japanese Manchurian fighting forces will number, by the coming autumn, more than one million men actually in the field.

*The Baltic  
Fleet in  
Chinese  
Waters.*

In watching the slow progress of the Russian Baltic fleet toward Chinese waters the shrewd advisers of the Emperor of Japan have held that Admiral Rozhstvenski could have one of only two possible missions, either of which the Japanese navy was confidently regarded as being able to frustrate. It had been believed at Tokio, and by students of the situation all over the world, that, considering the lack of modern fighting units in the Russian fleet and its admitted inferiority to that under Admiral Togo,



GENERAL DRAGOMIROFF.  
(The Czar's military adviser.)

the real object of Admiral Rozhstvenski in Chinese waters had been, not to seek battle with the Japanese, but to so impress the rest of the world with a show of strength, and to so occupy the attention of the Japanese fleet, that in the negotiations for peace which were believed to be in progress early in April the powers of the world would combine to modify Japan's demands. There had been, however, a possibility that Admiral Rozhstvenski, in the course of his long voyage from home waters, and particularly during his stay north of Madagascar, had so brought up the efficiency of his vessels and crews that he would make an actual dash for Vladivostok, Russia's only remaining stronghold in the far East, and accept battle with Admiral Togo if the latter should offer it.

*Admiral  
Togo's  
Problem.*

The problem before Admiral Togo as the Russian Baltic fleet approached the China Sea had become infinitely more complicated and serious than even the result of a great battle between the two fleets. Ever since the first attack on Port Arthur (on February 8 and 9 of last year), Admiral Togo's tactics have been those of a statesman as well as a naval commander. Those who have criticised

him for not closing in with the Russians at Port Arthur and destroying them in a great fight between battleships (and there are many who have thus criticised him severely) have forgotten that old, homely proverb which says, "Don't put all your eggs in one basket." The entire Japanese navy is at present in active service under Admiral Togo. He has only five battleships, and it will not be possible within the next year or so for Japan to build another first-class fighting ship. During the war, neutral countries are not permitted to sell her any. Admiral Togo and the naval department at Tokio have not forgotten the "friendly advice" given Japan at the close of her war with China, and backed up by the combined fleets of Russia, Germany, and France. The island empire wants no more of such "friendly advice," and Admiral Togo has been too shrewd and cautious to risk, for the spectacular advantage of an open-sea fight, the right arm of his nation, which alone would command respect in case of a possible European anti-Japanese coalition at the end of the war. Therefore, not even for the sake of the dramatic unities, or the newspaper correspondents of the rest of the world, has Admiral Togo been willing to risk his great battleships unnecessarily.



SCENE OF THE FAR-EASTERN NAVAL OPERATIONS.  
(Showing Admiral Rozhdestvenski's route.)



Rozhdestvenski's Progress.

It may be said that the attention of the whole world had been fixed on the Baltic fleet and its probable fate when, in the first few days of April, Admiral Rozhdestvenski was reported to have passed into the China Sea, part of his fleet going through the Straits of Malacca and part through the Sunda Strait. The Russians, steaming slowly northward, had been noted

(on April 11) passing Singapore. Several days later they were reported at the Anambas Islands, and their hospital ship, the *Orel*, entered the harbor of Saigon, French Cochinchina, for supplies. The Chinese waters are at all times scoured by the navies of Great Britain, France, and Holland, and there is always a small force of American warships in Philippine harbors. The Russians, therefore, were reported at many different points and small islands, and the world hourly awaited the great battle which had been confidently expected. By April 19, the Russians, after coaling in the French harbor of Kamranh, calling forth considerable protest in the Japanese press over what was termed French violation of neutrality, had sent out cruisers to "supervise" Japanese and neutral commerce passing Formosa. To those familiar with Admiral Togo's tactics

and the geography of the situation, it had become evident that the plans of the Japanese admiral were, in general, somewhat like this: Assuming that Admiral Rozhestvenski were really making a dash for Vladivostok, the Japanese naval commander, from some base probably near the island of Formosa, would send out many torpedo boats (the Japanese boast that they can manufacture these as fast as they could possibly be destroyed) to pick off the Russian vessels; second, that he would send fast scouting cruisers, also provided with torpedoes, to harass the Russians; and, third, that he would take advantage of everything that nature afforded,—the dangerous channels, the fogs, and every other natural obstacle,—to retard his foes.

*The  
Strength of  
the Fleets.*

If the Russian admiral were short-sighted enough to make for Vladivostok harbor, Admiral Togo, it was understood, would permit the enemy's vessels to enter and then destroy them in the roadstead as he destroyed the Russians at Port Arthur. In case Admiral Rozhestvenski meant to cruise in Chinese waters, as an argument in favor of better terms of peace for Russia, the general harassing tactics could also be pursued. This policy, in the main, called for the closing with mines of the avenues of approach to Vladivostok, and in accordance with this policy it was announced on April 18 that the Tsugaru Straits, between the main Japanese island and the northern island of Yezo, were within the zone of defense and had been mined. On paper, the rival fleets were of approximately equal strength, with a preponderance of battleships in favor of the Russians. If the fourth Baltic squadron under Nebogatov, which was reported having left the Red Sea on March 26, had joined Rozhestvenski, this preponderance might possibly have been real. The Russians had seven battleships (five of them first-class, although none of the most modern build), two armored cruisers, and six protected cruisers. Although uninjured by war, the Russian ships were in bad condition from their long stay in tropical waters, overloaded with coal, and hampered by their colliers and supply ships. Altogether, Admiral Togo had five battleships, eight armored cruisers, and thirteen protected cruisers, besides a large number of destroyers and torpedo boats. Although it is not known just how much these Japanese ships have been damaged as the result of their hard service of over a year, in general they must have been in good fighting condition. In the number of guns, the fleets were about equal, although in weight of metal Togo was superior, and immeasurably so in the training of his gunners.



THE DOWAGER-EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

(The mother of the Czar, who was the Princess Dagmar [Maria Feodorovna], is daughter of King Christian of Denmark and sister of the Queen of England.)

*The  
Russian  
Reforms.*

While the numerous commissions and committees created by the various reform rescripts and ukases of the Czar during the past few months had been deliberating, and exasperating the overridden peasantry by their inactivity, there had been a certain amount of real progress made in the internal affairs of the empire. Especially significant were the real concessions which it is reported have been made to Poland and Finland, and the movement launched for the separation of Church and State. Especially significant, also, was the formation of the National Professional Reform League, projected by the national congress of lawyers which recently finished its work in Moscow. The reactionary party, however, appears to be in the ascendancy, and repression again holds sway. The only exception to this policy of repression appears in the concessions to Finland. These concessions are said to be due to the influence of the Dowager-Empress, who, however, is generally regarded as one of the most reactionary of the Russian court party.

*Concessions  
to  
Finland.*

The Czar had made a real concession in answer to the petition of the Finnish Diet asking that all imperial decrees since the Diet of 1899 be withdrawn because they were not approved by the Diet. The Czar orders the suspension, until 1908, of

the conscription act, by which Finns were drafted into the Russian army contrary to the fundamental law of Finland. In the year mentioned, the question will be submitted to the Diet. In the meantime, Finland will pay an annual war contribution of \$2,000,000 instead of furnishing recruits. The Czar also restores the judges who were illegally removed from office for opposing the so-called Russification of Finland. Concessions to the Poles had not yet been actually carried out, but a large majority of the Council of Ministers, headed by President Witte, are known to favor the abandonment of the compulsory use of Russian in Polish schools. The movement to sever the bonds between the Orthodox Church and the State, and thus secure self-rule and independence for the Church, while vigorously opposed by Procurator Pobyedonostzev, had found favor among the important members of the clergy in large cities, and a document embodying the views of these priests had been published in one of the clerical organs of St. Petersburg, urging that the Church free herself from her obligations to the State in order to "detach herself from the worldly feelings and interest," and suggesting that a great council be called to consider the whole matter.

*Progress of the Revolutionary Spirit.* Anarchy and rioting had continued throughout the empire, and assassination by bombs had appeared to be on the increase. Attempts on the lives of Governor-General of St. Petersburg Trepov and Baron Nolken, police chief of Warsaw, had been followed by the arrest of a man and a woman for attempts to blow up the Czar himself. By the middle of April the trial of Ivan Kolaiev for the assassination of Grand Duke Sergius had been finished and Kolaiev found guilty and sentenced to death. The restlessness of the peasants had continued, and disorders in the country districts had increased. Many large estates had been pillaged, and a condition of civil war existed in the Caucasus. An agrarian movement of widespread extent and violence had been apprehended for the Russian Easter season, which occurs during the first week in our month of May. The whole empire was impatiently awaiting some definite action on the part of the government commissions, as it had long been felt that social and economic questions were beyond the power of the bureaucracy to solve. Many reforms had been promised, and it had been assumed that, in accordance with the Czar's declaration of March 3, some popular representative assembly would be summoned in the near future. Up to the middle of April, however, the meetings of the lawyers and doctors, and the announced in-

tention of the government to at once extend the zemstvo system to Poland and eastern Siberia, had been the only real progress. On April 19 it had been reported that Count Lamsdorf, the foreign minister, and M. Witte, president of the Council of Ministers, had resigned their positions in consequence of the Czar's refusal to discuss the question of the separation of Church and State and to give immediate consideration to the problems relating to peasant tenure of land. In the great cities, the discontent among the workmen had been increasing, and order had been maintained only with difficulty by Cossacks in the streets.

*As to Russian Finances.*

Russia's ability to finance a long war had become a matter of prime interest to Europe and to the rest of the world. Up to the 1st of April, the empire had obtained two foreign loans amounting to \$400,000,000. She had also issued an interior loan of \$100,000,000. At a monthly expenditure of \$20,000,000 for the war (which is the amount admitted by the Russians themselves), the cost, so far, of fifteen months' conflict, including the initial expenses, would be about \$350,000,000. This is "running expenses," and does not include the immense property losses of stores and supplies which the Russians have sustained in the campaign just closed. The failure of the Czar's endeavor to raise a new loan in France had caused the belief in some quarters that Russia was at the end of her resources. This is, of course, a fallacy. The whole question of the relation of France to Russia in the matter of financial loans and the resources of the empire is considered in a "Leading Article" on another page of this issue. There is an immense reserve, —nearly \$500,000,000,—deposited in St. Petersburg, most of it, however, being security for loans already made. There is also another reserve, the "holy gold fund," consisting of the gold and jewels in the Russian churches, which might be used in a great national crisis. Altogether, should Russia need to do so, she might carry on the war indefinitely, so far as the matter of expense is concerned. The failure to float the loan in France, and the opposition at home to continuance of the war, had been reflected in the decrease in the price of Russian 4 per cent. bonds, which during the first week in April, for the first time in their history, had dropped below 83. During late March, the world had been interested in the somewhat sensational offer of Finance Minister Kokovsev, made to the London *Times*, to permit a representative of that journal to enter the great vaults and "verify personally the gold reserve."



## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From March 21 to April 20, 1905.)

### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

March 23.—President Roosevelt appoints Truman H. Newberry, of Michigan, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to succeed Charles H. Darling, resigned....The Maryland Supreme Court orders the governor to submit the constitutional amendment relating to negro disfranchisement to popular vote....The Delaware Legislature adjourns without electing a United States Senator.

March 25.—The Nebraska Legislature appropriates \$250,000 for a State binder-twine factory.

March 28.—The city of Louisville, Ky., is indicted by the federal grand jury for peonage.

March 29.—All the members of the Panama Canal Commission resign....The general counsel of the Panama Railroad purchases for the United States all but five of the outstanding shares of the company.

March 30.—The committee of the New York Legislature begins its investigation of the New York City lighting trust.

April 3.—President Roosevelt appoints a new Panama Canal Commission, as follows: Theodore P. Shonts, chairman; Charles E. Magoon, governor of canal zone; John F. Wallace, chief engineer; Rear-Admiral M. T. Endicott, U. S. N.; Brig.-Gen. Peter C. Hains, U. S. A. (retired); Col. Oswald H. Ernst, U. S. Engineers, and Benjamin M. Harrod....Michigan elects a Republican State ticket by a large plurality.

April 4.—Judge Edward F. Dunne (Dem.) is elected mayor of Chicago, by a plurality of more than 22,000 votes, over John M. Harlan (Rep.)....Mayor Rolla Wells, of St. Louis, is reelected.

April 10.—Commissioner of Corporations Garfield arrives in Kansas to begin the investigation of the oil industry....United States Supreme Court decides that the right to a trial by a common-law jury exists in Alaska.

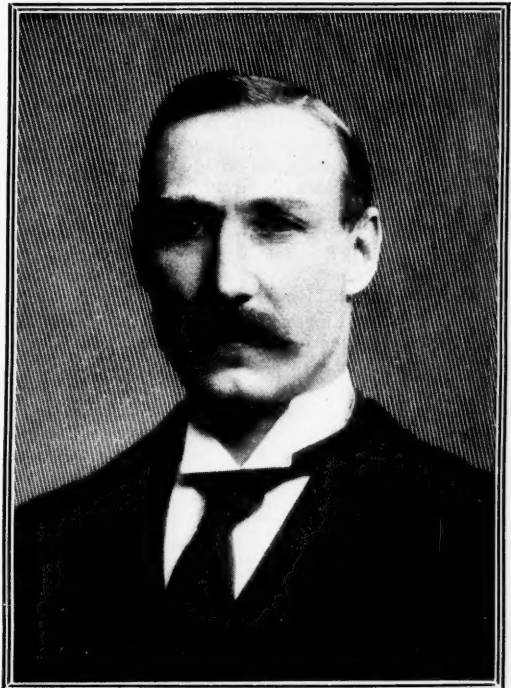
April 12.—The executive committee of the Panama Canal Commission holds its first meeting in Washington (see page 549).

April 13.—Indictments charging tampering with a witness are returned against four persons by the federal grand jury of Chicago which is investigating the Beef Trust.

April 17.—The United States Supreme Court declares the New York law fixing ten hours as a day's work for bakers unconstitutional....The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce begins its hearings on the railroad-rate question at Washington.

### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

March 21.—The Kossuth party leaders in Hungary decide to oppose any cabinet that refuses the demand for Hungarian as the language of military command....Motions to postpone the question of Church and State separation, and to refer it to a commission, are defeated in the French Chamber of Deputies....Viscount Goschen and the Earl of Selborne defend the increase in naval expenditure in the British House of Commons.



THE EARL OF SELBORNE.

(Who has been appointed to succeed Viscount Milner as high commissioner for South Africa.)

March 22.—The Russian Committee of Ministers decides to recommend the abolition of the compulsory use of the Russian language in Polish schools....In the British House of Commons, a Liberal motion on the fiscal question is carried by a vote of 254 to 2, Balfour's followers not voting.

March 23.—The Emperor of Germany signs a bill for the construction of a railroad from the Cameroons to Lake Chad.

March 27.—A bill for reform of labor conditions in the Prussian mines is supported in the Prussian Diet by Count von Bülow....The King of Greece opens the new Parliament in person.

March 29.—The insurrectionary movement against Russia is reported strong in the Caucasus.

April 2.—President Diaz, of Mexico, congratulates the country on its recent monetary reform.

April 4.—The government of Manitoba, Canada, issues a statement on the separate-school question.

April 10.—Austen Chamberlain, chancellor of the exchequer, announces a surplus of \$7,070,000 in Great Britain's finances....The Italian minister of marine,

Admiral Mirabello, asks the Parliament for \$12,000,000 to enlarge the navy.

April 14.—The Russian minister of finance announces that important reforms in the labor laws are being prepared.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

March 23.—The government of Newfoundland takes steps to prevent American fishermen from obtaining bait there.... German holders of Venezuelan bonds sign an agreement for unifying the debt.

March 24.—President Castro, of Venezuela, refuses the American demand for arbitration of the asphalt controversy.... It is announced that Colombia has settled the last of the American claims.... The representative powers in Santo Domingo agree on the appointment of a commissioner to collect revenues and hold 55 per cent. in trust for foreign creditors until the United States Senate acts.

March 25.—United States Minister Dawson arranges with Santo Domingo for the temporary collection of revenues by a United States commissioner.

March 27.—The American State Department advises Cuba that Spanish ordinance on the island should be returned to Spain, as requested.

March 28.—President Roosevelt decides to accept Santo Domingo's proposition for an American receiver of customs, pending final action on the treaty.... Lord Lansdowne, the British foreign secretary, proposes placing Macedonian finances under international control.

March 29.—Prince George, the governor of Crete, asks the powers to postpone intervention, and calls on the revolutionists to lay down their arms.... The European powers determine to collect the Macedonian taxes and apply them to needy districts.... Italy presents an ultimatum to Santo Domingo, but withdraws it on learning of the American receivership plans.... Count von Bülow, the imperial chancellor, says that Germany will stand firm in Morocco in the interests of the open-door principle.... The Swiss Bundesrath rejects the commercial treaty with the United States because of the Senate's modifications.

March 31.—Santo Domingo decides to stop debt payments until the American receivership plan is inaugurated.

April 2.—Chile announces her determination to acquire sovereignty over the former Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica.

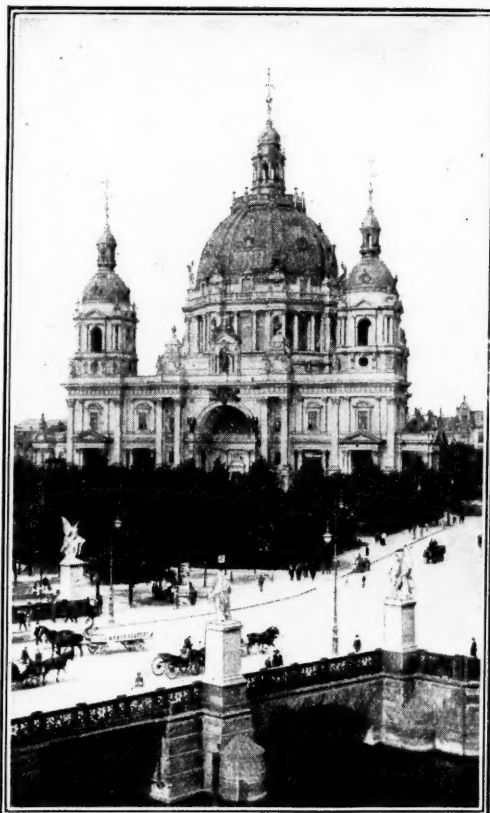
April 3.—Belgians, who are Santo Domingo's largest creditors, protest against the American arrangement.

April 4.—A supplementary extradition treaty between the United States and Sweden and Norway is signed.... Lord Lansdowne informs the British House of Commons that Germany has violated her agreement to protect British traders in the Marshall and Caroline islands.

April 5.—The American State Department publishes the statement that American action on the neutrality of China was at the suggestion of the German Emperor.

April 8.—Representatives of South and Central American republics complain to the United States of preferential tariff in Panama Railway rates.

April 13.—Lord Lansdowne declares in the British House of Commons that England joins with the other powers in cordially accepting President Roosevelt's invitation to a second peace conference.



THE NEW PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL IN BERLIN, GERMANY.

(It cost \$3,000,000, and was twelve years in building.)

April 14.—President Roosevelt appoints a commission of three experts to consider and report on the diversion of international rivers.

April 15.—It is announced at Washington that the United States has referred the questions to be taken up in the second peace conference to the Hague tribunal.

#### THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

March 23.—The Japanese enter Chang-tu-fu, ten miles north of Kai-yuen, as they follow after the retreating Russians.... The internal loan for \$100,000,000 is signed in St. Petersburg.

March 24.—The Japanese are carrying out another flanking movement south of Harbin; the Russians fear being cut off.... The new Japanese loan for \$150,000,000 is to be raised half in America, half in London.

March 25.—From the beginning of the war to date, the Siberian Railway has delivered at Harbin 761,467 soldiers, 13,687 officers, 146,408 horses, 1,521 guns, and 351,000 tons of stores.... The *Sima Yatetchestov* calculates that the Manchurian enterprise, inclusive of the war, has cost Russia \$1,000,000,000.

March 26.—The Russians are still retreating; they are driven out of all the districts watered by the Liao River.

April 2.—The Chinese report Japanese armies moving

against Vladivostok on the east and Tsitsikar on the west.

April 3.—St. Petersburg reports the Russian armies concentrated and awaiting attack.

April 7.—General Linevitch reports a sharp action in which the Japanese lose heavily.... The Russian Baltic fleet under Rozhstvenski passes Singapore.

April 17.—Admiral Rozhstvenski's vessels are reported at Kamranh Bay, north of Saigon, and at points farther north.

April 18.—The Japanese estimate the strength of General Linevitch's army at 200,000 men.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

March 21.—A flood at Pittsburg, Pa., renders 1,000 persons homeless and causes a property damage of \$500,000.

March 23.—Commander Peary's new Arctic steamer *Roosevelt* is launched at Bucksport, Maine.... It is announced in the British Parliament that over 346,000 deaths occurred in India from the plague up to March 11, 1905.

March 25.—A plan for the union of Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is published.... Citizens of New York subscribe \$600,000 toward an endowment of \$1,000,000 for the American Academy of Fine Arts in Rome, Italy.... Owners of factories in and about St. Petersburg lock out 30,000 men.

March 28.—A protest is filed against the acceptance of John D. Rockefeller's gift of \$100,000 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

March 30.—The New York Rapid Transit Commission reports plans for new subways to cost \$200,000,000.

March 31.—The will of Mrs. Jane Stanford makes personal bequests amounting to \$4,000,000, and leaves the residuary estate to Stanford University.

April 1.—The Pennsylvania soft-coal operators renew last year's wage scale, thus averting a strike of 45,000 men.... St. Louis ice and coal wagon drivers decide to go on strike.... Oxford easily defeats Cambridge in the annual rowing race on the Thames.... The turbine steamship *Victorian* arrives at Halifax, having crossed the Atlantic in one hour and ten minutes less than eight days (see page 574).

April 2.—The Simplon tunnel is officially inaugurated (see page 572).

April 3.—President Roosevelt leaves Washington on a two months' vacation trip to Texas and Colorado.... A gas explosion in a mine at Ziegler, Ill., entombs fifty miners.... The New York superintendent of insurance begins an investigation of the Equitable Life Association.

April 4.—Earthquakes cause the loss of many lives and serious damage in India.

April 5.—The United States Government invites England, Germany, and France each to nominate one distinguished engineer to serve on the advisory board of the Panama Canal Commission.

April 6.—The Board of Directors of the Equitable Life Association adopt an amended charter allowing the policy-holders to name 28 out of 52 directors.

April 7.—President Roosevelt is the guest of honor at a reunion of the regiment of Rough Riders, at San Antonio, Texas.

April 8.—The collapse of a partially constructed reservoir near Madrid, Spain, causes the death or injury of 400 persons.

April 10.—Ambassador Joseph H. Choate is elected a Benchman of the Middle Temple.

April 11.—The Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions formally accepts the gift of \$100,000 from John D. Rockefeller, and issues a statement explaining its action.

April 13.—Dr. Edwin A. Alderman is inaugurated as first president of the University of Virginia.

April 15.—President Roosevelt leaves Newcastle, Colo., for his camp in the mountains.

April 18.—The assassin of the Grand Duke Sergius is sentenced to death at Moscow.

#### OBITUARY.

March 21.—Ex-Chancellor Edward P. Crane, of the Western University of Pennsylvania, 73.

March 22.—President Elmer H. Capen, of Tufts College, Massachusetts, 67.... Antonin Proust, former French minister of fine arts, 73.

March 23.—Ex-Congressman Theodore M. Pomeroy, of Auburn, N. Y., 80.... Eduardo Tabacchi, Italian sculptor.

March 24.—Jules Verne, the French story-writer, 77 (see page 579).... Señor Don Manuel de Azpiroz, Mexican ambassador to the United States, 69.... Ex-Congressman Charles Tracey, of Albany, N. Y., 57.

March 25.—Maurice Barrymore, the actor, 55.... Sol Eytinge, the illustrator, 72.... Charles Boyd Curtis, the New York lawyer and author, 78.

March 28.—Adrian Iselin, the veteran New York banker, 87.... Lord Norton, conspicuous in the establishment of self-government for the British colonies, 90.

March 29.—Col. Jacob L. Greene, president of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, 68.

March 31.—William H. Meeker, one of the oldest actors of the American stage, 83.... Immanuel Auerbach, editor of the *New-Yorker Handels-Zeitung*, 82.... Samuel F. Dunlap, Oriental scholar and legal writer, 80.

April 1.—President William F. Potter, of the Long Island Railroad, 50.

April 2.—Prof. Albert A. Wright, of Oberlin College, 59.... Samuel Miller Hageman, a well-known clergyman and author, of Brooklyn, N. Y., 57.

April 4.—Alphonse Favier, Roman Catholic Vicar-Apostolic in China, 68.

April 7.—Edward Floyd DeLancey, a New York lawyer and historian, 83.... Gen. Cullen A. Battle, of the Confederate army, 76.

April 9.—Miss Sarah Chauncey Wordsworth ("Susan Coolidge"), 60.... Chief Justice Jesse Knight, of the Wyoming Supreme Court, 55.

April 10.—Judge Lawrence Weldon, of the United States Court of Claims, 76.

April 13.—H. T. Craven, the British dramatist, 84.... Colonel Renard, a well-known French aërostatic inventor, 58.

April 15.—Gen. John Palmer, former secretary of state of New York, 63.... Ex-Congressman Halbert E. Paine, of Wisconsin, 80.

April 20.—Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, principal of the United Free Church College, of Scotland, 67.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF CONVENTIONS AND OTHER GATHERINGS, 1905.

THERE follows a list of over one hundred important meetings or assemblies to be held in America during the remaining eight months of the current year. A glance at this tabulation will afford some indication of the varied activities of the American mind. It also shows how great a factor the convention, or conference, has become in our scheme of living, and how even the difficulties of the transcontinental journey, once deemed well-nigh insurmountable, have been minimized in the interest of assemblages believed

essential to our welfare and progress as a people. To the meeting of the National Educational Association, at Ashbury Park, N. J., in the first week of July, will flock thousands of teachers from every quarter, while in the week following the young people of American Protestant churches will be represented in imposing numbers at Baltimore, by the Christian Endeavor Society, and at Denver, by the Epworth League. At Portland and Seattle, in the Pacific Northwest, there will also be great gatherings.

## EDUCATIONAL GATHERINGS.

	PLACE.
American Institute of Instruction.....	Portland, Ore.
American Instructors of the Deaf.....	Worcester, Mass.
American Teachers' Association.....	New York City
Catholic Educational Association.....	New York City
Catholic Summer Schools of America.....	Cliff Haven, N. Y.
Chautauque Institution.....	Chautauque, N. Y.
International Friends' Educational Conference.....	Richmond, Ind.
Jewish Chautauque Society of America.....	Atlantic City, N. J.
National Educational Association.....	Ashbury Park, N. J.
National Elocutionists' Association.....	Washington, D. C.
Summer School of the South.....	Knoxville, Tenn.

## MEETINGS OF MUSICIANS.

American Federation of Musicians.....	Detroit, Mich.
American Union of Swedish Singers.....	Chicago, Ill.
Music Teachers' National Association.....	New York City
National Federation of Musical Clubs.....	Scranton, Pa.
National Festival.....	Denver, Colo.
Worcester Musical Festival.....	Worcester, Mass.

## PATRIOTIC CONVENTIONS AND REUNIONS.

Annual Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.....	Denver, Colo.
National Mexican War Veterans' Association.....	Dallas, Tex.
Naval and Military Order of Spanish American War.....	Boston, Mass.
Reunion of the Blue and the Gray.....	Washington, D. C.
Sons of American Revolution National Society.....	Philadelphia, Pa.
Spanish-American War Nurses.....	Washington, D. C.
United Confederate Veterans' National Reunion.....	Louisville, Ky.
United Daughters of the Confederacy.....	San Francisco, Cal.

## MEETINGS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.....	Seattle, Wash.
American Missionary Association.....	Worcester, Mass.
American Unitarian Association.....	Boston, Mass.
Augustana Swedish Lutheran Synod of America.....	Stanton, Iowa
Baptist General Convention.....	St. Louis, Mo.
Brotherhood of St. Andrew.....	Chicago, Ill.
Central Conference of American Rabbis.....	Cleveland, Ohio
Congregational Home Missionary Society.....	Springfield, Pa.
Cumberland Presbyterian Church General Assembly.....	Fresno, Cal.
Epworth League National Convention.....	Denver, Col.
Field Workers' Conference.....	Toronto, Canada.
General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. ....	Winona Lake, Ind.
General Synod of the Reformed Church in America.....	Asbury Park, N. J.
General Synod of the Reformed (German) Church in United States.....	Allentown, Pa.
German Conference of Free Baptists.....	Quebec, P. Me.
German Conference of Christian Workers.....	E. Northfield, Mass.
German Baptists of the United States.....	Bristol, Tenn.
International Convention of Christian Endeavor.....	Baltimore, Md.

## SECRETARY.

July 10-13	Wm. C. Crawford, 80 Ashforth Street, Boston, Mass.
July 14-15	Prof. J. L. Smith, Fairbank, Minn.
July 16-20	Harold P. Rogers, 100 West 42d Street, Albany, N. Y.
July 21-23	Rev. F. W. Howard, 212 E. Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.
July-August	
June 20, Aug. 27	Robert L. Kelly, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
July 31, Aug. 3	Isaac Hasler, P. O. Box 825, Philadelphia.
July 3-7	Irwin Shepard, Winona, Minn.
July 26	Robert I. Fulton, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.
June 20-July 28	

May 15	Mrs. David Campbell, 1225 Vine Street, Denver, Colo.
July 20-23	H. G. Nordberg, 1514 Belmont Avenue, Chicago.
June 21-23	Charles H. Farnsworth, Columbia University, New York.
May 24-25	Prof. E. H. Sellard, Scotland, Pa.
June 6-12	Mrs. C. B. B. B. Washington Street, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Sept. 25-29	Paul B. Morgan, 21 Lincoln Street, Worcester, Mass.
Sept. 4-9	John E. Gilman, Adjutant-General, 45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.
May 23-24	Mrs. More Murdock, Dallas, Tex.
May 20	Capt. John T. Hilton, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York.
May 10-11	
April 30-May 2	A. H. Clark, Smithsonian, Washington, D. C.
May 1-2	Lela Wilson, 7 Thomas Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
June 14-16	Maj.-Gen. Wm. E. Mickle, New Orleans, La.
Oct. 3	Virginia F. McSherry, Martinsburg, W. Va.

September 14-18	Cornelia H. Patton, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
October	J. W. Cooper, D.D., 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.
May 23-24	Charles E. St. John, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
June 9-16	Rev. C. A. Randolph, Stanton, Iowa.
May 16	Rev. Charles H. Moss, Malden, Mass.
September 21-24	Edgar G. Griswell, Broad Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.
July 2-7	Rev. Adolph Guttmacher, 239 Bolton Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
May 30-June 1	Washington Choate, Fourth Avenue and 22d Street, New York.
May 18	Rev. J. M. Hubbert, Marshall, Mo.
July 5-9	E. M. Randall, D.D., 57 Washington Street, Chicago.
June 20-23	E. A. Fox, Louisville Trust Building, Louisville, Ky.
May 18-29	W. H. Roberts, D.D., Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.
June 7	Wm. H. DeHart, Karitan, N. J.
May 16	J. P. Stein, Reading, Pa.
July 18-21	Harry S. Myers, Hindsdale, Mich.
August 4-20	H. M. Moore, Boston, Mass.
June 6-8	D. F. Bowman, Johnson City, Tenn.
July 5-10	Von Ogden Vogt, Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.



International Sunday School Convention..... Toronto, Canada  
 Lutheran Church General Synod..... Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 National Conference of Church Clubs (Episcopal) in the U. S. .... Cleveland, Ohio  
 National Conference of the Disciples of Christ..... San Francisco, Cal.  
 National Purity Conference..... La Crosse, Wis.  
 National Spiritualists' Association..... Minneapolis, Minn.  
 National Woman's Christian Temperance Union..... Los Angeles, Cal.  
 National Woman's Christian Temperance Conferences..... Portland, Ore.  
 National Young People's Christian Union..... Hartford, Conn.  
 National Zionists' Convention..... Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Order Brith Abrah..... Baltimore, Md.  
 Presbyterian Church General Assembly (South)..... Fort Worth, Tex.  
 Reformed Presbyterian Church General Synod..... New York City, N. Y.  
 Seventh-day Adventist General Conference..... Washington, D. C.  
 Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church..... New Castle, Pa.  
 United Brethren General Conference..... Topeka, Kan.  
 United Presbyterian Church General Assembly..... Washington, Ia.  
 Universalist General Convention..... Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Woman's Prohibition Club of America..... Chicago, Ill.  
 World's Student Conference..... E. Northfield, Mass.  
 Y. M. C. A. Salaried Officers' Convention..... Niagara Falls, N. Y.  
 Young People's Missionary Movement..... Silver Bay, N. Y.  
 Young Women's Conference..... E. Northfield, Mass.

# SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL GATHERINGS.

American Association for the Advancement of Science..... New Orleans  
 American Biological Association..... New Orleans  
 American Chemical Society..... Buffalo, N. Y.  
 American Forestry Association..... Washington, D. C.  
 American Institute of Electrical Engineers..... Ashville, N. C.  
 American Institute of Homoeopathy..... Chicago, Ill.  
 American Library Association..... Portland, Ore.  
 American Medical Association..... Portland, Ore.  
 American Osteopathic Association..... Denver, Colo.  
 American Proctological Society..... Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 American Society of Civil Engineers..... Cleveland, Ohio  
 American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses..... Washington, D. C.  
 American Society of Zoologists..... Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 American Theapeutic Society..... San Francisco, Cal.  
 Association of American Physicians..... Philadelphia, Pa.  
 International Hahnemannian Association..... Washington, D. C.  
 National Eclectic Medical Association..... Chicago, Ill.  
 Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

# SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONFERENCES.

American Civic Association..... Cleveland, Ohio  
 American Economic Association..... Baltimore, Md.  
 American Social Science Association..... Boston, Mass.  
 Farmers' National Congress..... Richmond, Va.  
 International Railway Congress..... Washington, D. C.  
 International Labor League..... Chicago, Ill.  
 National Association of Manufacturers..... Portland, Ore.  
 National Association of Manufacturers..... Portland, Ore.  
 National Conference of Charities and Correction..... Portland, Ore.  
 National Good Roads Association..... Portland, Ore.  
 National Negro Business League..... New York City  
 National Park Superintendents' Association..... Buffalo, N. Y.

# OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

Catholic Knights of America Supreme Council ..... St. Louis, Mo.  
 International Sunshine Society ..... Niagara Falls, N. Y.  
 National Division, Sons of Temperance ..... Asbury Park, N. J.  
 National Editorial Association ..... Guthrie, Okla.  
 National Writers' Association ..... Washington, D. C.  
 Northern Wisconsin Gymnastic Union ..... Indianapolis, Ind.  
 United Commercial Travelers of America ..... Independence, Kan.

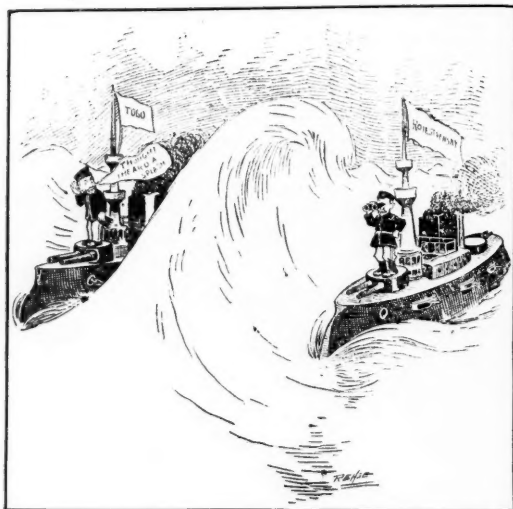
Mr. Marion Lawrence, Toledo, Ohio.  
 Jackson W. Sparrow, Johnston Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Benjamin L. Smith, Y. M. C. A. Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 B. S. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wis.  
 Mary T. Longley, 600 Pennsylvania Ave., S. E., Washington, D. C.  
 Susanna M. D. Frey, Evanston, Ill.  
 Mrs. Henrietta Brown, Albany, Ore.  
 Miss Emma Barnett, Rich Valley, Ind.  
 Leonard Leiserson, Second Avenue and First Street, New York.  
 W. A. Alexander, College Street, Clarksville, Tenn.  
 Rev. A. Bond, 2213 S. Main Street, Philadelphia.  
 W. A. Spaulding, 18 Park D. C.  
 J. W. Spaulding, D. D. 122 E. North Avenue, Allegheny City, Pa.  
 Rev. George Miller, Carlisle, Iowa.  
 Rev. D. F. McGill, D. D., Allegheny City, Pa.  
 G. L. Demarest, Manchester, N. H.  
 Emma Pow Baude, 2214 Chestnut Street, Oakland, Cal.  
 H. M. Moore, Boston, Mass.  
 L. L. Pierce, 1145 N. H. Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.  
 C. V. Vickrey, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.  
 H. M. Moore, Boston, Mass.

L. O. Howard, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.  
 John Hinkley, 215 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.  
 W. A. Noyes, Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.  
 H. M. Suter, 310 Twelfth Street, New York.  
 Ralph W. Pope, 45 Liberty Street, New York.  
 Joseph P. Cobb, M. D., 254 East 47th Street, Chicago.  
 J. I. Weyer Jr., University of Nebraska Library, Lincoln, Neb.  
 George H. Simmons, Chicago.  
 Dr. H. L. Chiles, 118 Metcalf Building, Auburn, N. Y.  
 Dr. William M. Beach, 516 Market Street, Pittsburg, Pa.  
 Charles Warren Hunt, 220 West 57th Street, New York.  
 Miss M. A. Nutting, Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md.  
 W. E. Castle, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Dr. H. V. Shelden, 2801 Broadway Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Dr. H. V. Shelden, 1519 W. 11th Street, Philadelphia.  
 Dr. Henry Hunt, 149 Washington Avenue, Albany, N. Y.  
 J. B. S. King, M. D., 70 State Street, Chicago.  
 Dr. Finley Ellingwood, 100 State Street, Chicago.

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 121 South Broad Street, Philadelphia.  
 Frank A. Petter, Morrill Hall, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Frederick Stanley Root, 291 Orange Street, New Haven, Conn.  
 John M. Stahl, Quincy, Ill.  
 Mrs. Mary H. Balz, 505 East Market Street, Elmira, N. Y.  
 K. H. C. 180 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.  
 Marshall Cushing, 170 Broadway, New York.  
 Alexander Johnson, 105 East 22d Street, New York.  
 R. W. Richards, Omaha, Neb.  
 Emmett J. Scott, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.  
 J. F. Colwell, Buffalo, N. Y.

Anthony Matre, 705 Mernod-Jacard Building, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Mrs. C. W. Alden, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York.  
 Ross Slack, Trenton, N. J.  
 Wm. A. Ashbrook, Johnstown, Ohio.  
 Mrs. M. M. North, 219 Hill, Md.  
 Edmund Zeman, 344 16th Street, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 C. R. Crawford, Independence, Kan.

# SOME NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE MONTH.



THE GAME OF HIDE-AND-SEEK IN THE CHINA SEA.

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul).

The drawing together of the Japanese and Russian war fleets in Chinese waters had furnished subjects for many cartoons last month. The rush to subscribe for the new Japanese loan had also been much pictured, and there had been evident an increasing recognition of the splendid campaigning of the armies of the Mikado as a new war college for the nations.



STILL LIFE IN MANCHURIA.

From the *Borsszem Jankó* (Budapest), the leading Hungarian cartoon journal.



SUCH A DIFFERENCE!

From the *Press* (New York).



"NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS."

(The pupils flock to the newest school.)

From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).



THE GERMAN KAISER IN A FEW NEW RÔLES.

HE OPENS THE EYES OF THE CZAR TO RUSSIA'S MISERY.—From the *Vikingen* (Christiania).



WITH HIS MAILED FIST HE DISTURBS THE HARMONY IN MOROCCO.

From the *Press* (New York).



HE REJOICES OVER HIS LL.D. FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

DR. HOHENZOLLERN TO DR. ROOSEVELT: "While we are in these togs, why not review my ships at Kiel?"

From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam).



THE TAMMANY TIGER AN UNWILLING WITNESS.

From the *Evening Mail* (New York).

THE ANNUAL SPRING SALE AT THE NEW YORK STATE CAPITOL.

From the *Press* (New York).

SONGS OF SPRING-TIME.

THE PUBLIC: "If they all wouldn't shout at once, I might get a better idea of what they all mean."

From the *Press* (Philadelphia).

THE CANNIBAL COOK: "Take him away! He's flavored with Standard Oil!"

From the *North American* (Philadelphia).

MISS CHICAGO AS LITTLE RED RIDING-HOOD.

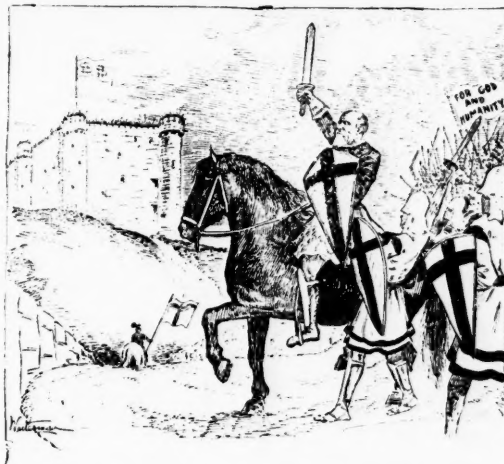
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus).





HIS HONOR, LORD MAYOR DUNNE, OF CHICAGO, IN HIS NEW ROBES.

From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



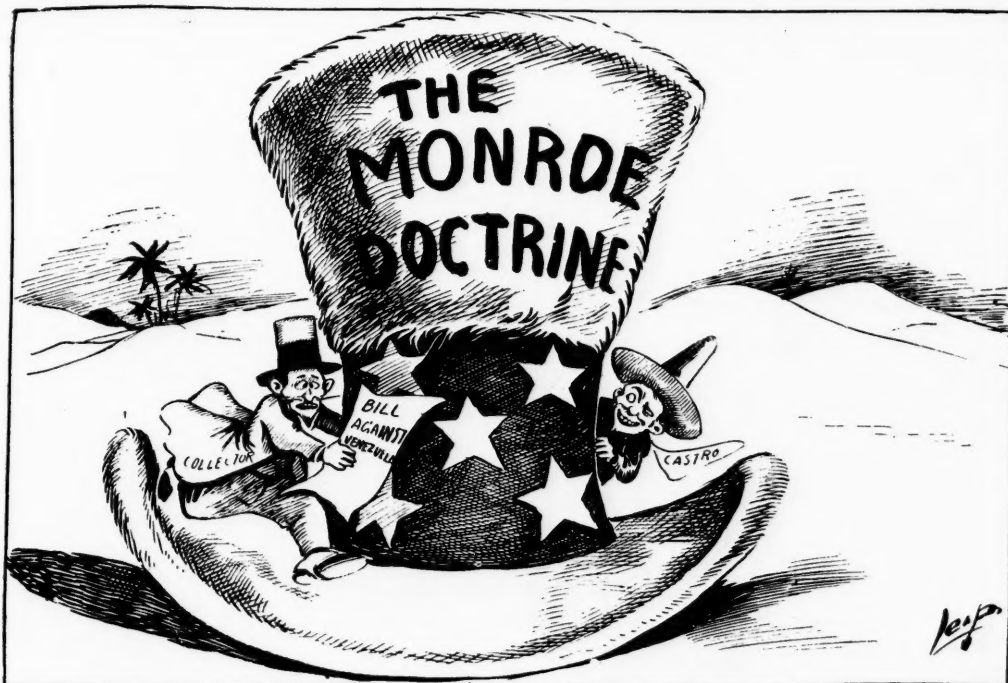
DR. GLADDEN LEADING THE ARMY OF PRESENT-DAY CRUSADERS AGAINST THE CITADEL OF THE MONEY POWER.

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus).



FATHER KNICKERBOCKER SQUEEZED AGAIN.—From the *Herald* (New York).





THE COLLECTOR: "The 'Money-you-owe duck-trine' is what I would call it."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



"I WON'T DO A THING WHEN I GET IN THERE!"

From the *Herald* (Boston).



CASTRO LETS THE OTHER FELLOWS WORRY.

From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).

While Europe presses for settlement of her claims, Napoleon Castro dreams of conquering the United States by invading our southern seaboard.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT (on his way to Texas): "Oh, things will be all right in Washington. I have left Taft sitting on the lid keeping down the Santo Domingo matter."—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).



BOTH SPOILING FOR A WHIPPING.

UNCLE SAM: "Really, I don't know which one of 'em I ought to spank first!"—From the *Press* (New York).



"WHEN THE CAT'S AWAY, THE MICE WILL PLAY."

From the *Evening Telegram* (New York).



# THE NEW EXECUTIVE OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

BY WALTER WELLMAN.

THAT America is the land of opportunity and of rapid rise for those who are alert when fortune knocks at their gates is well shown in President Roosevelt's selection of Theodore Perry Shonts to be chairman of the Panama Canal Commission. Until his appointment to this most important post was announced, Mr. Shonts was unknown, even by name, to a great majority of his fellow-citizens. He had attained some prominence in the West as a manager of railways, but even in that field had not been operating with properties of the first magnitude. This argues nothing whatever against his ability or fitness. Indeed, everything that has been learned about Mr. Shonts since his appointment seems to justify the President's judgment in choosing him.

## THE PRESIDENT'S SEARCH FOR EXECUTIVE TALENT.

Mr. Roosevelt had no little trouble in finding a man just to his liking for builder of the canal. He realized the heaviness of the task, and was not in a frame of mind to put up with second-rate talent. For several months the President had in mind getting a man of the very highest type of American executive ability—one who had established his worth and his reputation beyond all question. To such a man the President was willing to give, not only absolute authority, so that he might make of himself the Napoleon of the canal, but he more than once expressed the opinion that the American people would indorse the payment to such a man of a salary commensurate with the importance of the service he was asked to render. For such a man, if salary were an object, fifty, or even a hundred, thousand dollars a year would be quite proper. Thus grew up the notion that the President was looking for "the hundred-thousand-dollar man." He was looking for such a man.

He offered the post of chairman to at least three well-known Americans, accompanied by an intimation that the compensation should be made anything they liked within reason. The President did this on the theory that Americans are thoroughly imbued with the principle that men of the first rank in management of large enterprises are worth all they cost, and that it doesn't matter much what that cost is. The man—not the salary—is the thing. Two of the men to whom this offer was made were former Sec-

retary of War Elihu Root and Henry Clay Frick, formerly of Pittsburg, but now a resident of New York City. Mr. Root declined because his ambition lies in the field of the law, where it may be truthfully said he is now at the head of the New York bar, and probably earning a larger income than any other man of his profession in the country. Mr. Frick declined because he had made his fight in life, had accumulated, with a vast fortune, large responsibilities, and did not wish to embark in a new enterprise demanding an almost incalculable expenditure of energy.

## A NEW PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

Failing to find the hundred-thousand-dollar man his heart was set upon, the President turned his attention to securing two or three twenty-five-thousand-dollar men. This phrase is used as expressive of the change of plan of organization which occurred about this time, not in estimate of the worth of the men themselves. Instead of a Napoleon to carry the whole enterprise on his shoulders, the President now sought a division of responsibility and two or three men worthy and willing to take their share of the work. This division of responsibility naturally fell into three great departments: First, the executive, comprising the financial and office management,—the duties of chief of staff of the canal-building army; this was to be the work of the chairman of the commission. Second, the command of the actual army in its combat with the obstacles of nature; this belonged to the chief engineer. Third, management of the political aspects of the work, government of the canal zone, dealing with the natives and with all questions of local administration; this fell to the governor of the zone. These three men, the President decided, he would make an executive committee of the commission. These three men, indeed, were to be the actual controlling force, the constructors of the canal. Congress had compelled him to retain a commission of seven; very well, he would have such a commission, but he would centralize the power in the hands of three of them, responsible directly to himself. The other members could be given departmental duties of great value and usefulness. And for the all-important task of deciding upon the plan for the canal, upon the kind of canal that will

best serve the interests of the nation, Mr. Roosevelt wisely concluded to appoint a board of consulting engineers, composed, not only of eminent American professional men, but of foreign engineers of highest repute.

The second and third of this triumvirate the President easily settled upon. For field marshal, Chief Engineer Wallace was clearly the man. As chief engineer, he had done good work. He had taken hold in vigorous fashion. None of the shortcomings of the past year could be laid to his account. The President thought that Mr. Wallace had made a good start under rather discouraging circumstances, and that, if supported, he would make a good ending. For the political side he had no difficulty in selecting Judge Magoon, whose service in the War Department as right-hand man to Elihu Root and Secretary Taft had been of the highest order. He was the ideal man for the place.

#### A RAILROAD PRESIDENT FROM THE MIDDLE WEST.

But the first of the trio, the chairman and head of the whole organization, was a nut not so easily cracked. The President considered a number of men, most of them railroaders who had won reputations as managers of large properties. Finally, Secretary of the Navy Morton suggested Theodore P. Shonts. The President had never heard of Mr. Shonts. But there are thousands of clever and able Americans of whom few of us have ever heard. In a country like ours, lack of a broad reputation is no bar to preferment, if the man has the right stuff in him. Mr. Morton soon convinced the President that Mr. Shonts was full of the right stuff. Mr. Shonts was asked to come to Washington for a conference. The President liked him from the first moment. The thing he liked best was Mr. Shonts' opening statement, frank and manly, that he wouldn't touch the job unless he could have absolute authority—unless, in case of differences of opinion, his judgment was to be final as to any matter lying within his province.

Thus, this relatively unknown man rises at a leap from the presidency of a third-rate Western railroad to chiefship in the greatest engineering enterprise the world ever saw. It was quick work. And now it is Mr. Shonts' cue to make good the high expectations of the President and of his employers, the American people. His friends believe he will not disappoint. He has had the training. He started out as a railroad contractor in Iowa. There he gained experience in the management of men and in dealing with physical problems. Next, he was superintendent of the Indiana, Illinois & Iowa Railway. Afterward, he became its president. His

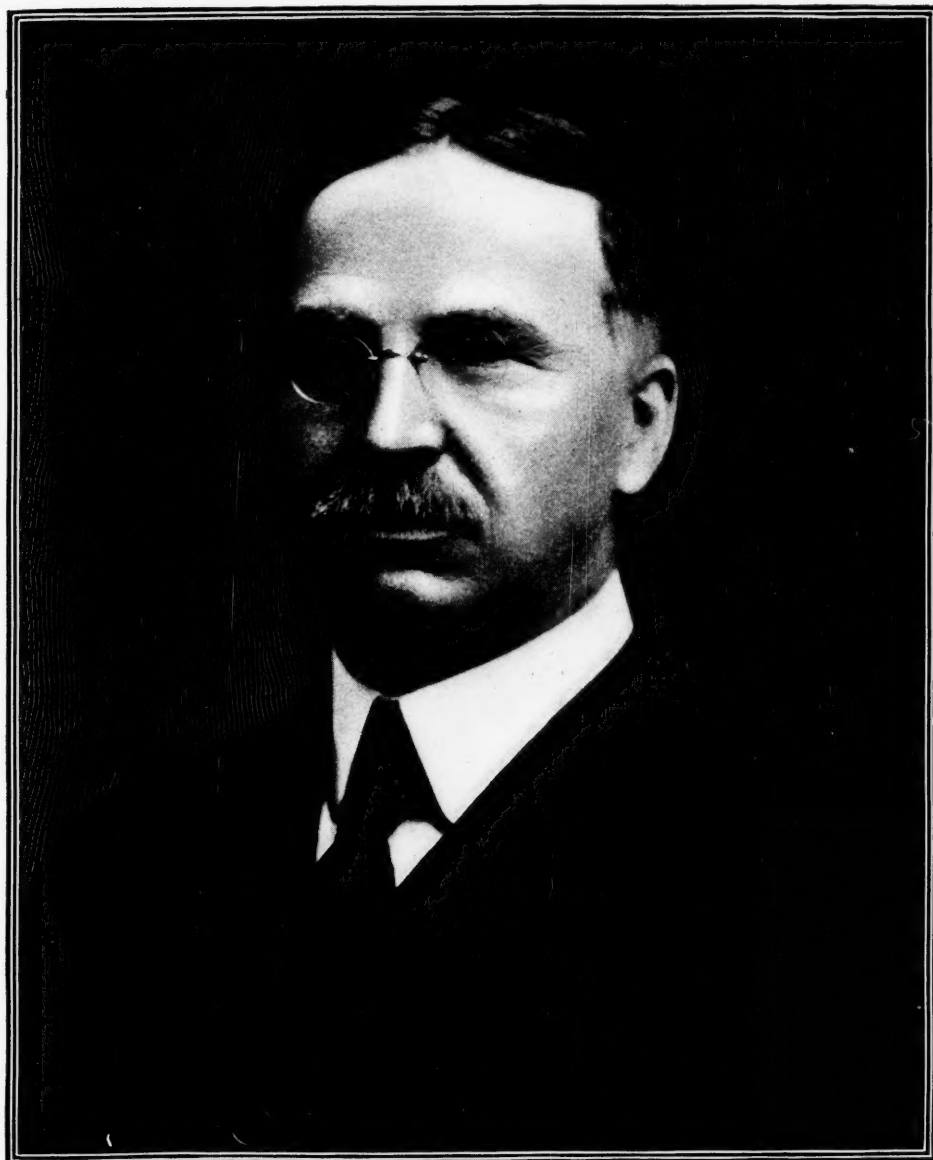
field was steadily broadening. He knew the practical side of railway work. Now he was brought in touch with railroad finances. He learned rapidly. He and his friend, Paul Morton, secured control of a majority of the stock of the railroad of which Mr. Shonts was president. Then they sold their holdings to the Vanderbilt interests, and realized a profit of something like seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars each. More than a year ago, Mr. Shonts became president of the Toledo, St. Louis & Western Railway, and it was this post he held when the President asked him to become chairman of the Canal Commission.

This is rapid rising in the world. Mr. Shonts is only fifty years old. He is in rugged health. He is not afraid to go to the Isthmus to do as much of his work as may be necessary there. He is a rich man. His income is said to be a hundred thousand a year from his railway investments; so he is "the hundred-thousand-dollar man," after all. He is frank and vigorous of manner,—the Western type. He talks freely. What he has to do, he does; and what he has to say, he says. Stories are told of his administering a sound thrashing to a man who called at his office to whip him and was surprised when the railroad president locked the door and started right in with the business in hand. The stories may be apocryphal, but they indicate the character of the man. He has vigor, he has grasp, he has that well-nigh indefinable American way of "making things go" which has been so well illustrated in the careers of our successful railway managers.

#### A FRIEND AND CLASSMATE OF CHIEF-ENGINEER WALLACE.

It is both an interesting and an important fact that the two men who are to work together,—in double harness, as it were,—as constructors of the canal, the chief of staff and the field marshal, are like Damon and Pythias. They have been lifelong chums. Born in Crawford County, Pennsylvania, fifty years ago, Mr. Shonts went West with his family. He graduated from Monmouth (Illinois) College in 1876. Among his classmates was John F. Wallace. Wallace's father was the president of the college. The friendship that started between the two youths at school has continued throughout their manhood. They speak of each other as "John" and "Teddy." Now the chums find themselves hitched to the same big wagon, and each realizes that he must pull for all he is worth. It is safe to say that they will work harmoniously and effectively together.

Mr. Shonts has two fully developed hob-



Copyright, 1905, by C. M. Bell, Washington.

MR. THEODORE P. SHONTS.

(Chairman of the Panama Canal Commission.)

bies,—music and work. The former he took up as a means of winning his wife, a musical enthusiast, and daughter of former Governor Drake, of Iowa. His love for work he inherited from his ancestry, which was Dutch on the paternal and French Huguenot on the maternal side. Like most great workers, he is cheerful.

optimistic, light-hearted, fond of his many friends, a good comrade,—knows how to play a little and to rest once in a while, but is dynamic and irresistible when it comes to practical achievement. His salary as chairman of the commission has been fixed at thirty thousand dollars a year.

## A NOTABLE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.\*

THE public services of the Hon. Andrew D. White, whose portrait appears on the opposite page, have been noted from time to time in earlier numbers of this REVIEW. Just before the assembling of the Hague Conference of 1899, in which Mr. White, as chairman of the American delegation, played so distinguished a part, this magazine published a sketch of his career, in its May number for that year, and in December, 1902, on the occasion of his resignation as ambassador to Germany, a detailed account of Mr. White's achievements, including his work at The Hague, appeared in these pages. We wish at this time to direct our readers' attention to Mr. White's "Autobiography," which has just been published by the Century Company,—not merely because of the inherent personal interest in this life-record of a great American, but because, apart from the question of individual achievement, this retrospect is full of valuable lessons to the generation now coming into the full responsibilities of American leadership.

The career that is here unfolded would have been unusual in any country: in the United States, it has been unparalleled. In the first place, Mr. White has pursued for more than forty years four or five distinct lines of activity and service. He has been brought into relations with as many distinct groups of fellow-workers, and he has retained an exceptional influence in all these relations. Now and then we say of a successful college president in this country that he would have made a capital politician or diplomat, but in the case of Andrew D. White no idle or half-regretful "might-have-beens" are needed to express our estimate. In all three fields,—politics, university administration, and diplomacy,—Mr. White has toiled and achieved. To the sum of his fruitful endeavor in these separate vineyards he has added solid and useful contributions to literature and historical science. Thus, his autobiography is a record of several careers, in a sense, and the very arrangement of the material is significant of this, for the portion devoted to "Political Life" is complete in itself, as is that which reviews the author's long and distinguished diplomatic service, while his university services are also separately treated.

The chapters in which Mr. White relates his experiences in practical politics are among the

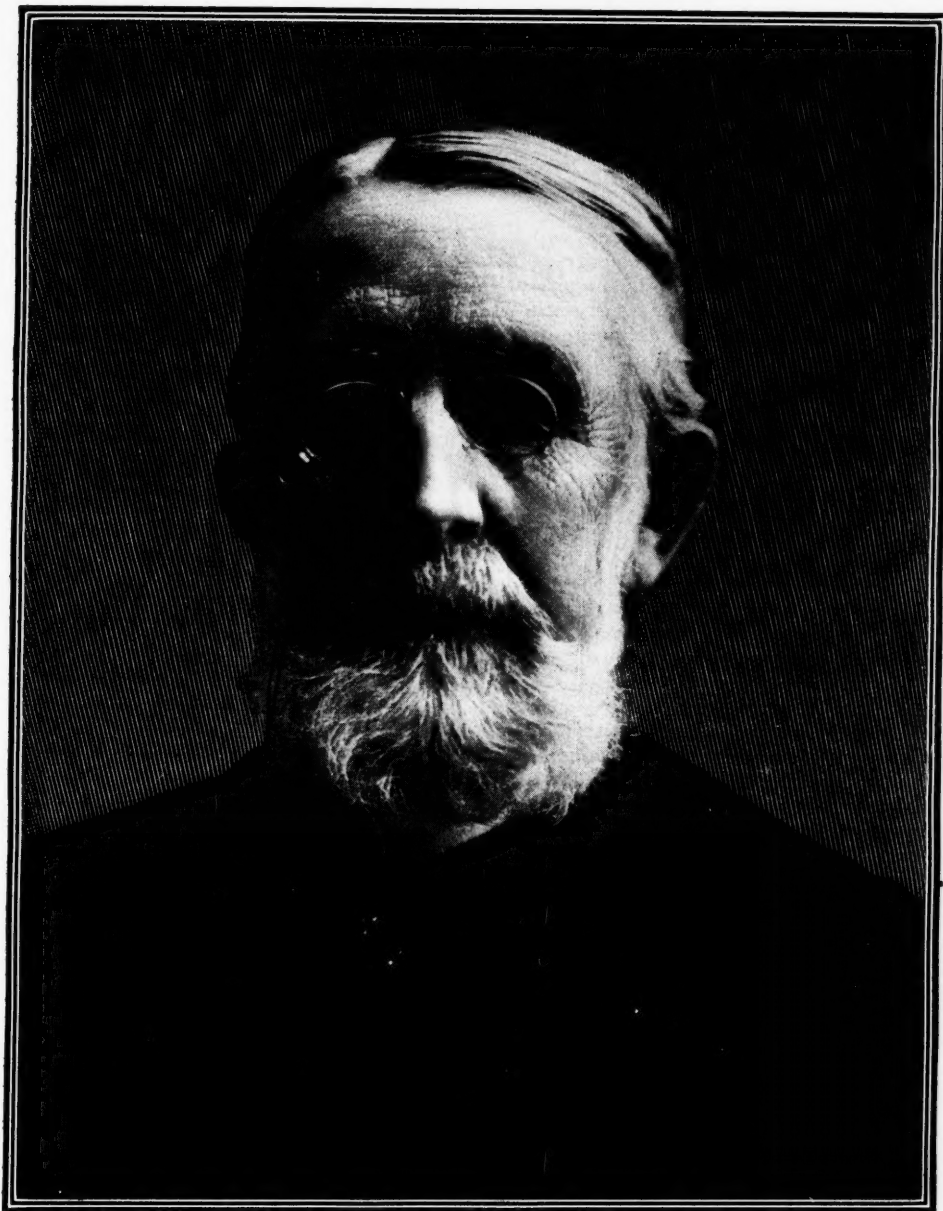
most readable in the book. As a young man he was interested in politics, particularly as an anti-slavery worker. Later, as a member of the New York Senate, he did much to advance the State's educational interests,—notably in conjunction with Ezra Cornell in obtaining a charter for Cornell University and in fixing the State's policy in relation to the Morrill land grant. His recollections of public men with whom he has been associated during the past forty years have a present pertinence, for while he has labored earnestly and effectively for improvement in our politics, he has always been a "practical politician" in the Rooseveltian sense; he has not been blinded to the good in our political life: his judgments on the whole have been wise, his estimates of men and measures just. Thus, his memoirs have a real historical value.

No living American has had a more brilliant record in the diplomatic service than Mr. White. He became an attaché at St. Petersburg in 1854, and served for two years in that capacity during the eventful period of the Crimean War; in 1871, he was appointed by President Grant as commissioner to Santo Domingo; in 1879, he was made minister to Germany and served through the remainder of the Hayes administration; in 1892, President Harrison appointed him minister to Russia, where he had begun his diplomatic service almost forty years before; he remained at that court two years, and in 1895 was made a member of President Cleveland's Venezuelan Commission. His most conspicuous service was the ambassadorship to Germany in the years 1897-1903. During that period he successfully conducted the affairs of the embassy throughout the trying months of the Spanish-American War and was president of the American delegation at the Hague Conference. In the extracts from his diary at that time we have the inside history of the efforts that led to the establishment of an international arbitration tribunal. The bare enumeration of these various and important diplomatic offices suggests the wealth of these memoirs in the materials of modern history.

Not less substantial is the contribution that Mr. White makes, through his autobiography, to the history of higher education in America. He has watched the whole development of the modern university on our soil. As a young professor in the University of Michigan he formed ideals which later took definite form in Cornell University, of which he was the first

\* The Autobiography of Andrew D. White. Two volumes. Century Company.





Photographed especially for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Davis & Sanford, New York.

HON. ANDREW D. WHITE.

president. He was one of the pioneers in American university-building.

In the closing chapters of his autobiography the author of "The Warfare of Science with Theology" expounds his conception of religion. —"the bringing of humanity into normal rela-

tions with that 'Power, not ourselves, in the universe which makes for righteousness.'" Any fair or adequate review of his achievements must lead to the conclusion that this noble ideal has truly inspired the varied and useful activities that have filled the life of Andrew D. White.

# CHICAGO'S VOTE FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

BY AN IMPARTIAL OBSERVER.

A LOCAL election of national significance took place in Chicago on April 4. The editor of this REVIEW directed attention, in the April issue, to the canvass then in progress in the "Western metropolis" and the important issue which it presented to the voters concerned therein. Now that the citizens of Chicago have rendered their verdict, it is well to review the unusual campaign and set forth more fully the essential points of the political controversy between the Democratic candidate for mayor, Judge Edward F. Dunne, and the Republican candidate, John Maynard Harlan,—a controversy which, as intelligent readers are aware, the people of Chicago, on April 4, decided in favor of the former.

What was the issue? Not, as some suppose, "municipal ownership." Where there is general agreement there can be no issue. Chicago has been for several years a "municipal ownership city," so far as the sentiments and settled purpose of the great majority of the electorate are concerned. Certain "business interests" are doubtless still opposed, even in principle, to municipal ownership of the street-car systems (and, of course, other public utilities), and these interests are not without representation in the City Council. But our politicians are aware that on election day these interests neither make nor mar candidates, and no political organization ventures to "view with alarm" or "deprecate" the trend toward municipal ownership.

## ALL PARTIES FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

There were four municipal tickets in the field,—Republican, Democratic, Socialist, and Prohibitionist. Each of the four candidates for mayor was placed on a municipal-ownership platform, though the Republican plank left not a little to be desired and was a source of uneasiness, disappointment, and apprehension to Mr. Harlan's staunchest friends and sincerest supporters. Mr. Harlan was more radical than his party, but the managers of the Republican campaign had sufficient influence in the first stage of the canvass to prevent a forceful, definite, straightforward presentation, on the "stump," of Mr. Harlan's views and intentions. A number of his speeches were as vague and uncertain as the platform phrases that had been forced on him.

The Republican "traction" plank (and trac-

tion was the paramount, if not the sole, issue in the election) ran as follows:

It is the duty of the City Council and the mayor to formulate and present to the people a definite and comprehensive plan for the immediate rehabilitation and improvement of our street-railway service. This plan should contain ample provision for municipal ownership and operation when the city shall be legally and financially able successfully to adopt it.

This could not be satisfactory to those who had twice voted for municipal ownership at the earliest possible opportunity, and who had extorted from a reluctant, boss-controlled legislature a law (the so-called Mueller act) giving Chicago the right to acquire, own, and operate street cars, and authorizing the issue of bonds or special street-railway certificates for that purpose.

The Democratic platform, recognizing the "academic" referendums of 1902 and 1903, which resulted in overwhelming majorities in favor of municipal ownership, as morally binding, though they were held under a "public policy" act which merely enables voters to express abstract opinions, requiring no public body or official to give effect to such opinions when expressed, adopted a simple and unequivocal plank demanding and promising "immediate" steps toward municipal ownership.

The parts of the Democratic platform which concern us are here subjoined:

We hereby specifically demand:

1. That the City Council, by resolution, terminate all negotiations with the street-car companies for the extension of existing or the granting of new franchises.

2. In place of such negotiations, that the city government proceed at once to negotiate with the street-railroad companies for the purchase of their tangible property and their unexpired lawful franchises in the streets for a fair, liberal, and full price.

3. In the event of a failure to reach an agreement on the above terms within a reasonable time, the city government shall proceed without delay to acquire ownership of the property of the street railways, or, if deemed better by the city government, that it proceed in lieu thereof, or in connection therewith, to establish new street-car lines in place of those now operating. Should suits for condemnation or other legal proceedings be necessary, we are mindful of the fact that these proceedings may be expedited under the laws relating to eminent domain, which give such litigation precedence over all other civil business.

This programme appeared to favor the giving of immediate effect to the twice-issued popular

mandate, which, moreover, had been emphasized and reinforced by the referendum vote upon the acceptance by Chicago of the Mueller "enabling act." That act had been adopted by the voters of the city in April, 1904, by a majority of over five to one, the vote standing 153,223 in favor of and 30,279 against adoption.

#### PROPOSED SETTLEMENT WITH THE TRACTION COMPANIES.

Judge Dunne, in his speech of acceptance, as well as in all his subsequent speeches, charged Mr. Harlan with evasion. The promise, he declared, of municipal ownership when the city should be "legally and financially able successfully to adopt it" was empty and meaningless, and he demanded to know, at the outset, whether Mr. Harlan contemplated or proposed a "settlement" with the traction companies,—that is, a settlement involving an extension of their franchises *from the city* and a recognition of their alleged franchise from the State of Illinois, a franchise embodied in a "boodle" act passed forty years ago over an executive veto and in defiance and contempt of the people of Chicago. An influential committee of the City Council, the committee on local transportation, it should be stated, had embodied the terms of what it considered a perfectly fair "settlement" in a "tentative ordinance," and Mayor Harrison and the leading newspapers had approved and recommended that ordinance in the hope that the traction companies would accept it as a lesser evil than "war to the bitter end" with the city government and the public.

Now, Mr. Harlan was a "settlement candidate." He had been nominated as such; he was supported by the authors, sponsors, and advocates of the "tentative ordinance," and he honestly held, as did his real friends, that some such compromise or settlement as the proposed ordinance involved was not only expedient but right, and practically unavoidable.

In other words, while Mr. Harlan was a believer in municipal ownership and as radical as Judge Dunne in that respect, he also believed that, in the circumstances actually existing, with the companies in possession of the streets under franchises having several years to run, and further alleged franchises from the State that, if valid and real, will not expire until 1964, an amicable settlement doing away with costly and protracted and uncertain litigation, and procuring for Chicago a complete and comparatively early extinction of all outstanding rights or claims of the companies, improved service forthwith, and a reasonable amount of compensation in one form or another, was eminently desirable

and reasonable. And this is the sort of settlement Mr. Harlan favored. While he objected to the "tentative ordinance" on minor grounds, and advised the people to reject it, he indorsed the principle upon which it was based. He would have granted the companies a thirteen or fifteen year franchise in return for a complete and final surrender or waiver of all their claims and privileges and a first-class modern service plus pecuniary compensation.

This, however, was but half a programme. There was absolutely no reason to suppose that the traction companies would agree to terms that could be submitted to the people (and no settlement could be made without a referendum) with any hope of favorable action upon it. The companies had not evinced the least inclination to accept the "tentative ordinance." There had been a parade of "negotiations," but the Council had been unable to elicit a word of definite encouragement. In fact, there had been plain intimations to the contrary. Representatives of one of the companies (and the more conciliatory and tractable of them) had criticised the tentative ordinances as harsh and one-sided, wholly unjust to the traction interests, and in need of very material modification. Some had expressed the hope that more liberal terms would be offered by the city—more liberal, mark you, than the terms which Mr. Harlan and other leading citizens had declared too liberal already.

When, therefore, Mr. Harlan's platform and campaign speeches urged an amicable settlement on the "waiver" basis, the proposal was purely academic and hypothetical. It was necessary to propose an alternative programme,—a war programme, as it were—in the event of the not improbable failure of the peace programme. And this, as the campaign progressed, gradually emerged and practically supplanted the other.

Should the traction interests reject the city's terms, Mr. Harlan declared, he should, if elected mayor, proceed to construct a subway in the central, or downtown, district of the city, and to establish, gradually and slowly, a competing municipal system of street railways. The subways, desirable in any event, according to transportation experts, were a necessary part of a competing system, because the companies had possession of most of the "approaches" and streets entering the central section. As for the parallel lines, the expiration of the franchises of a minor company (one of those absorbed by the union traction interests, now supposed to be controlled by a J. P. Morgan syndicate) would permit an immediate beginning, the realization of municipal ownership on a modest scale.

## OBJECTIONS TO THE HARLAN PROGRAMME.

Here we have the Harlan programme in its entirety. It was indorsed by some of the "veterans" of the municipal-ownership movement, but the majority of the recruits and the organizations for the promotion of that policy were opposed to it. Several objections were urged against the Harlan programme, but those which are conceded to have been most effective were these:

1. The litigation Mr. Harlan wished to avoid could not possibly be avoided. The companies might *pretend* to waive or surrender their claims in consideration of a new and short grant by the city, but they could not be trusted. They had forfeited all title to confidence by their methods and practices, which included jury-bribing, debauching of legislatures, corrupt deals with the lowest of the politicians, and so on. They might make a contract with the city wholly acceptable on its face, but at the end of the period some pretext would be found for attacking the fundamental condition of the settlement, and the fight would simply have been postponed, not avoided. Judge Murray F. Tuley, our leading chancellor, the Nestor of the bench, declared that the companies could not legally waive or compromise their claims in a way to commit the bondholders, and there would be nothing to prevent the latter from repudiating the settlement at the end of the period of the new franchise.

2. Even if a fair settlement, doing away with litigation, be legally possible, the city government had no moral right to make it, since the people had voted for immediate ownership "without delay," and their will was law. Mr. Harlan himself had, in 1899, said that the people had the right to decide when the policy of municipal ownership should be put into effect.

3. With regard to the constructive part of the programme, the subway and parallel system suggestions were pronounced to be vague, full of uncertainty, and unreal. The city had no money for subways, none for parallel lines, and none for "wasteful," warlike, or retaliatory enterprises. Two systems would mean, in most cases, two fares, delays, poor transfer facilities and inconvenience, whereas the people demand a unified service on the "one city, one fare" basis, and the best of accommodations.

These are the objections, the arguments, which defeated Mr. Harlan. Judge Dunne's "simpler" programme,—purchase or immediate condemnation proceedings,—carried the day. The election, in the words of a local newspaper which vigorously supported Harlan, was the triumph of the word "immediate." The people

had lost all patience with the traction companies, had conceived so profound a hatred and detestation for them, that the suggestion of another "compromise," a settlement with them on any terms, was repugnant to them. "They must be ousted at once, as soon as the law will allow it," was, in effect, the verdict at the polls against the companies. And no one in Chicago is in the least surprised at the verdict. The policy of the companies has been suicidal; they reap what they have sown.

## THE REFERENDUM VOTE ON THE SETTLEMENT PLAN.

The full significance of this verdict cannot, however, be understood without a reference to the vote on the so-called "little ballot." Thanks to the efforts of municipal-ownership workers, three questions were submitted, under the public-policy act of the State, to the people of Chicago on April 4. They were as follows:

1. Shall the City Council pass the [tentative] ordinance reported by the local transportation committee, granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company?

2. Shall the City Council pass *any* ordinance granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company?

3. Shall the City Council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to *any* street-railroad company?

The newspaper which earnestly and ably supported Mr. Harlan had advised the voters to ignore these questions as confusing rather than helpful. Mr. Harlan himself, who had promised to sign no franchise ordinance and to effect no settlement without the approval of the majority given by a referendum vote, had, nevertheless, admitted that the answers to the above questions would not influence or guide him, and that even an overwhelming negative vote would not estop him from attempting to negotiate a settlement.

The vote on the first question was: "Yes," 60,136; "no," 136,140; majority against the tentative franchise ordinance, 76,000. On the second question, 57,000 voted "yes" and nearly 140,000 "no." On the third, 55,660 voted "yes," and 141,518 citizens voted "no." The majority against *any* franchise extension or renewal, against any settlement with the company not carrying an "immediate" evacuation, was nearly 86,000. *Not one ward* gave a majority in favor of the settlement plan, and while over a hundred thousand of those who voted at the election ignored the "little ballot" questions, it is by no means certain that it is the intelligent who failed to answer them. The presumption is rather that the ignorant did so. Certainly, the people who dis-



believe in municipal ownership and desire an extension of the companies' franchises might well have answered the third question in the affirmative, and the situation was such that there was every reason why, from their point of view, they should have felt it their duty to answer it so as to stem the tide of municipal ownership. There is no reason for believing that a full vote would have changed the relative strength of the two sides.

THE VOTERS PRONOUNCE FOR "PURCHASE OR CONDEMNATION."

Chicago, then, has voted decisively for immediate steps toward municipal ownership in accordance with the Dunne-Democratic programme—purchase or condemnation. Does this programme offer a short-cut to municipal ownership? Was the confidence of Judge Dunne, Judge Tuley, his chief sponsor,—the man who undoubtedly, by his appeals and warnings, brought about the nomination of his fellow-judge, and of the whole Dunne campaign organization,—warranted by the facts of the situation?

The Dunne platform was subjected to severe criticism in the course of the campaign. Judge Dunne was asked how much he would be willing to pay for the properties and assets, including unexpired franchises, of the companies. The physical property is not worth more than \$27,000,000, on a liberal estimate, but the aggregate of their stocks and bonds (watered and inflated, to be sure) was valued before the election at over \$100,000,000, and a Morgan syndicate recently organized owns a controlling interest, at least, in these properties. Would the owners dispose of these properties for a price materially less than the market value? If not, and if condemnation proceedings were resorted to, would a jury and the courts disregard the market value as indicated by the prices of the stocks and bonds of the companies?

Judge Dunne and his friends ridiculed the notion that \$100,000,000 or anything like that sum would have to be paid. The market value, they asserted, was based on the hope and expectation of another franchise; destroy that hope and the value must decline to a point not far removed from the value of the physical property of the companies. "The city would pay second-hand prices for second-hand property" was a refrain of the Dunne orators, and no jury would award the companies higher prices, knowing, as the jurors do, that markets are manipulated and artificially maintained, and that there is little relation between stock values and real values.

The voters accepted this view. They authorized "purchase or condemnation," expecting to

obtain the properties at a price they can afford to pay and would deem fair and reasonable. Any practical proposal under the Dunne plan must be referred to them; the "Mueller act" provides for such reference. The real question is,—will Judge Dunne be able to carry out his promises? He has promised a good deal, and "the law's delays" are notorious. The companies will not sell on his terms, and condemnation suits will have to be instituted. Difficult and novel questions will arise,—among them the right to condemn franchises of public-service corporations. The validity of the provision in the Mueller act for the issue of street-railway certificates with which (or with the proceeds of which) to pay for the properties is doubted, and only the State Supreme Court can resolve that doubt. Other questions will certainly be carried to the federal Supreme Court.

OBSTACLES TO "IMMEDIATE OWNERSHIP."

In short, the outcome of the enterprise to be embarked upon under Mayor Dunne's direction is exceedingly uncertain. It may eventually be necessary to revert to the discarded Harlan programme,—that is, the second half of it. In all human probability, there will be no further franchise dealings with the companies. So far as that phase is concerned, Chicago has spoken definitely and finally. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of private ownership (and, possibly, also of private operation) of public utilities in Chicago. The question of method is, in reality, still open, and, fortunately, there is nothing in Mayor Dunne's general position on traction to prevent him from adopting the Harlan alternative,—subways and a parallel system,—should his own plans prove defective and impracticable.

The whole country is wondering "what Mayor Dunne will do next." Let no one be misled by the word "immediate." The new mayor never promised the impossible. He knows he must reckon with the courts and with the traction companies, whose interests will be served by delay and by apparent failures on the part of the administration. He will consult legal and technical experts, and, after ascertaining the approximate value of the physical property and the unexpired franchises (or alleged franchises), will offer to purchase the same at that price. No one expects that an agreement will be reached as to the price. The next step, then, as stated above, will be a condemnation suit. Judge Tuley says that "condemnation proceedings will take about one and one-half years," as they have precedence over all other court business. He adds: "I do not see how the matter could

be carried to the United States Supreme Court, as it is purely local [involving State law and its interpretation], but if it is, it can be passed upon there in less than a year."

Clearly, in the latter event, Judge Dunne will have no opportunity to take a single further step toward his goal,—the goal of the people of Chicago. His term will come to an end in April, 1907, and on Judge Tuley's own showing the condemnation proceedings cannot be passed upon finally by the federal Supreme Court (if taken there) within this period. Of course, the people will be asked to give him another term, or to elect another advocate of municipal ownership.

#### EXPERIMENTAL CONTROL OF A SINGLE SYSTEM.

But it is important to bear in mind one practical consideration.—Judge Dunne will be in a position to give Chicago *immediate* municipal ownership (as distinguished from an immediate lawsuit) on a small scale. If the first step counts, Chicago will take the first step toward municipal ownership under Mayor Dunne within the next few months. There is a street-car system, now allied with and part of the hated Union Traction interests, called the Chicago Passenger Railway. It comprises some thirty-seven miles of track, and can be profitably operated. It connects populous sections of the West Side with the congested central section. The franchises of this company have expired (the traction lawyers insist that they have another year of life, but their construction of the ordinance which granted these franchises is so strained and unnatural that no one takes it seriously), and the ninety-nine-year act does not apply to them on any possible theory. There is, then, nothing in the way of municipal acquisition of this system. Even Mayor Harrison favored "experimental" municipal ownership of these lines, and if he waited till the last days of his fourth and last term to make a move in that direction, it was because of his lingering hope that a settlement with the companies might be arranged which would render the "experiment" inadvisable at this juncture. But before Judge Dunne was installed as mayor the City Council, at the instance of Carter H. Harrison, the retiring executive, had advertised for bids from capitalists, contractors, and financiers desirous of going into street-railway operations under a lease. Mayor Dunne attends to push this part of the general scheme.

#### OPERATION DISTINCT FROM OWNERSHIP.

All that Chicago contemplates now, even with reference to the Passenger Railway system, is *municipal ownership*. The question of municipal operation is distinct and separate, although the

Dunne-Democratic platform indorsed the principle of municipal *operation* as well. Here is the plank covering that aspect of the problem :

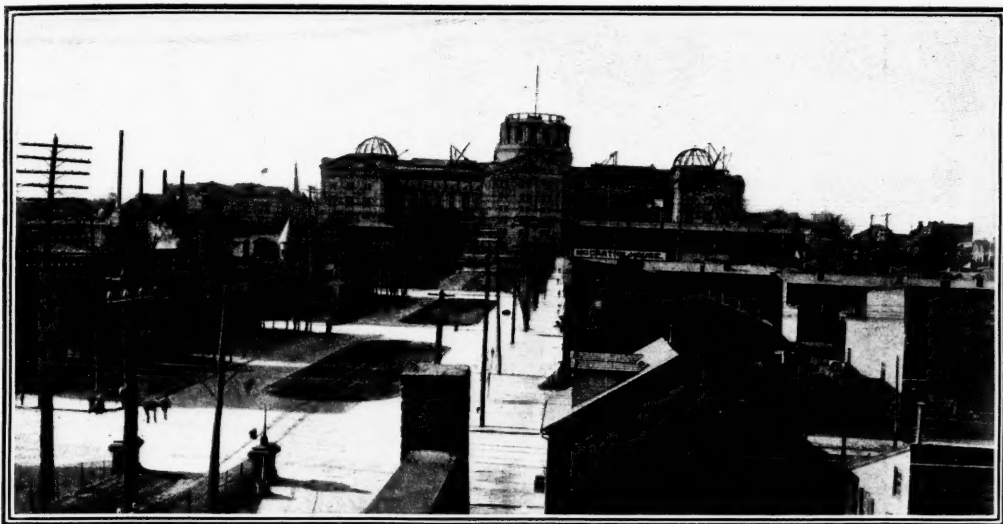
After municipal ownership of traction facilities is acquired, the city government shall at once obtain the referendum vote of the people, which is already provided for by law, upon the question of municipal operation thereof, and promptly upon the rendering of an affirmative vote thereon, as required by law, proceed to complete all necessary arrangements for such operation, and we unqualifiedly believe in and indorse such municipal operation.

Why is "immediate" operation less strenuously urged? The explanation lies in the provisions of the Magna Charta of municipal ownership in Illinois, the so-called Mueller enabling act. The right of Chicago to own, acquire, construct, maintain, etc., street railways was conferred by that act, subject to adoption and ratification thereof by a majority of the voters. The right to operate was also conferred, but before the city can proceed to operate an acquired or constructed street railway she must refer the question to the voters, and obtain the approval of three-fifths of the electors voting upon the proposition. The theory of the Mueller act is that municipal ownership is less doubtful, as a "business proposition," than municipal operation, and there are more or less impartial observers who believe that the requisite three-fifths vote will not easily be secured by the radical advocates of municipalization.

#### THE MERIT SYSTEM IN CHICAGO.

Some misgivings have been expressed with regard to the possible effect of the "spoils system" on municipal operation. It is not generally known that Chicago has an excellent merit law applicable, thanks to Supreme Court decisions, to the entire municipal service. The law will extend, *ex proprio vigore*, to the employees of any municipally owned and operated transportation system. The Democratic plank on the civil service was satisfactory, and Judge Dunne has declared again and again that during his tenure the merit law shall be rigidly enforced. This pledge, to be sure, has been taken in a Pickwickian sense by the Democratic machine, but the honest supporters of Mayor Dunne think disappointment is in store for the spoilsmen.

Be this as it may, for the next several months legal questions, rather than technical or practical ones, will engage the attention of the mayor, the City Council (which will cordially cooperate with him, it is gratifying to state), and the thoughtful citizens of Chicago anxious to give effect as fast as possible to the deliberate and unmistakable mandate of the people.



STATE STREET, HARRISBURG, SHOWING SECTION OF PAVING AND PLANTING COMPLETED.

## THREE YEARS IN HARRISBURG.

BY J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

**I**N February, 1902, the citizens of the capital city of Pennsylvania adopted, by voting for the million-dollar loan required, a comprehensive scheme of municipal improvement. This scheme was remarkable, not so much for its extent as for its concrete character, as it had been developed after a novel examination of the city by experts upon water filtration, sewage, paving, and park problems. The various suggestions of the able engineers employed were presented to the voters by means of a notable and successful campaign of education, against the opposition of the selfish and ultra-conservative.

At the same election the character of the city government was totally changed by the election of Vance C. McCormick, a young man of wealth, energy, and high civic ideals, as mayor, against the opposition of the political machine. The one-term plan prevails in Pennsylvania, and the three years of Mayor McCormick's administration closed with the swearing in of his successor (elected on a pledge to continue the same administration) on April 3 of this year.

The story of the accomplishments of three years in this little city under an able, courageous, and interested head reads like a romance. The mayor believed that he was elected as the real administrative head of the city corporation, not as a mere executive figure-head, and he has

wrought his belief into continuously vigorous action, as contrasted with the far more usual passive morality.

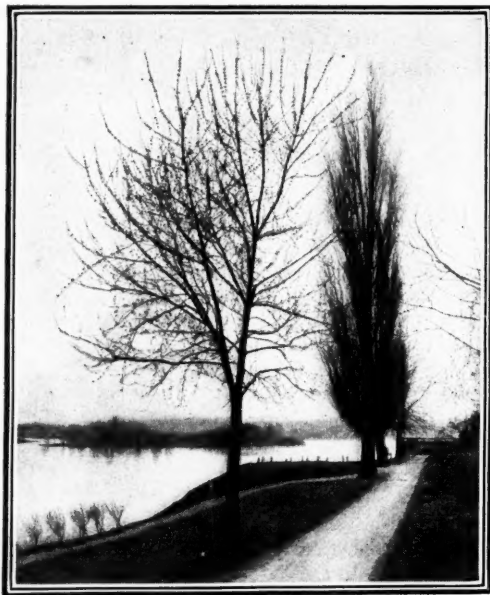
Three years ago, Harrisburg was practically "wide open," but Mayor McCormick closed it promptly, within the law. A corrupt police force, collecting tribute through a corrupt chief for division with a corrupt mayor (and all this was brought out in an investigation instituted by Mayor McCormick, who forced restitution of fees illegally retained by his predecessor), was promptly and substantially reformed, and was turned over to Mayor Gross, elected in 1905, in a high state of efficiency.

Political appointees to the city departments were replaced by men selected for superior qualifications, and in at least one case, Mayor McCormick supplemented an insufficient salary from his private means in order to get a capable man.

Harrisburg had three years ago about four miles of paved streets, which had been carelessly put down at a high price, and were allowed to go uncleaned for the most part. During the three-year period nearly twenty miles of modern asphalt pavement has been laid, and by the institution of a proper competition and the elimination of the influence of a financially interested political boss, it has been obtained at prices 25 per cent. under those formerly paid. A competently

organized inspection bureau has seen to it that this paving is properly laid and the specifications adhered to. By frequent analyses and the obtained visits and advice of eminent paving engineers, the high standard of the work has been assured.

A "white-winged" corps of sweepers has brought the paved streets of Harrisburg into a



A SCENE ALONG THE RIVER FRONT IN HARRISBURG.

high state of cleanliness, not excelled anywhere. Remarkable as it may seem, this great improvement has been accomplished without material increase in the rate of taxation, although the mayor's insistence upon an honest assessment has added considerably to the city's valuation and revenue.

Meanwhile, and always with the vigorous attention and assistance of Mayor McCormick, the other improvement work has been proceeding. Under a conspicuously able Board of Public Works, a comprehensive scheme of water purification has been worked out, after tests of the Susquehanna water made hourly for six months without interruption. The clean, filtered water will be delivered to the citizens by August of this year. Coincidentally the same board (serving without pay) has constructed a great intercepting sewer as part of a comprehensive revision of the drainage system of the city, and has arranged, in conjunction with the park commissioners, to prevent certain disastrous floods, that

had from time immemorial distressed a considerable portion of the city, by creating a beautiful lake, to serve for the storage of flood waters as well as for the flushing out of the little stream which has been at once a danger from sewage contained at low water and from floods at high water.

In the three years the park area of Harrisburg has been trebled, and now, by the acquirement of a great natural park site in conjunction with the improvement above alluded to, an area of over six hundred acres is added. This will give Harrisburg over twelve acres of park area to the thousand of population, which is considerably in favorable excess of the average of American cities. The park scheme has not neglected playgrounds, which are being added to the city's facilities for caring for its population.

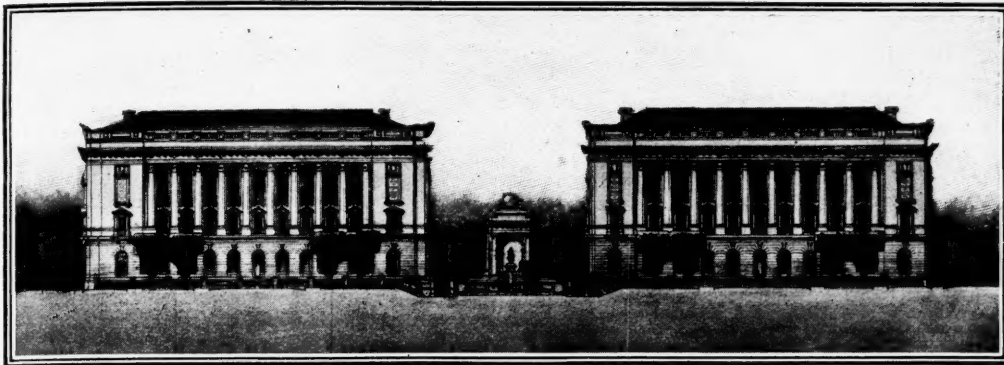
To a very considerable extent, and as much as possible within the unsatisfactory charter conditions maintained in Pennsylvania by a boss-ridden legislature, the local laws have been coordinated and made harmonious. A system of building inspection has been instituted, and the efficiency of the engineering and the fire departments very greatly enhanced.

When Mayor McCormick assumed office, the local traction company was paying grudgingly into the city treasury but three-fourths of one per cent. tax on its gross receipts for the use of the streets, and constantly obtaining additional franchises without compensation. Through his fair and wise interposition it has been caused to increase this to 3 per cent. per annum, and for the use of a new subway under the Pennsylvania Railroad it has also paid a substantial sum.

As a parting gift to the city he has served with such intelligent devotion, Mayor McCormick and his family are having erected, upon carefully matured plans worked out through the coöperation of three eminent consulting engineers, a formal entrance to Harrisburg from its river front. A new and handsome bridge spans the mile-wide and magnificently scenic Susquehanna, along which the capital city of Pennsylvania extends for about five miles. At the entrance to this bridge there have been erected two columns taken from those used in the front of the beautiful old colonial capitol destroyed by fire in 1897, these historic columns standing upon suitable bases, and being surmounted by appropriate finials. A dignified historical entrance to the city is thus provided.

With the impetus thus given, made effective for three years largely through the recognition by one young man of wealth of his public duties, Pennsylvania's capital city is entering upon a period of rapid and solid development.





The Federal Building.

The Library Building.

SECTION THROUGH THE MALL, TAKEN EAST AND WEST, LOOKING SOUTH.

## THE GROUPING OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN CLEVELAND.

BY EDWIN CHILDS BAXTER.

THIS is written to recount the steps by which one American city is progressing toward a high ideal of civic beauty and strength, and, by inference, to point the way for other cities that may strive to realize like ideals.

The following terse statement of a great opportunity which has been well seized by the city of Cleveland is the text of a resolution adopted in January, 1899 :

*Whereas*, By an exceptional and fortunate coincidence, several public structures are soon to be erected in Cleveland, thus giving this city an opportunity, such as has seldom come to any city and may never come to Cleveland again, to carry out a magnificent scheme of architectural unity ; therefore be it

*Resolved*, By the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, that the president be requested to appoint a committee of five to confer with the commissions and boards having in charge the erection of these buildings and ascertain whether or not it is feasible to erect them upon such sites and in such relationship to each other as to form one harmonious architectural plan, and to contribute to public utility and convenience.

Movements for the grouping of public buildings in accordance with harmonic plans are now in various stages of progress in at least eight of our large cities. Cleveland was the pioneer, and was followed by Washington, whose "civic awakening," dating from 1900, Mr. West reported in the March REVIEW.

### INADEQUATE HOUSING OF CITY AND FEDERAL OFFICES.

For many years the following conditions have impressed themselves upon the minds of Clevelanders, and of visitors to that city :

The county offices are principally contained in two buildings huddled together in a corner of the "public square" and remarkable for nothing that is good in exterior or interior appearance or facilities ; they are overshadowed, moreover, by tall office buildings. The city departments and officials occupy rented quarters entirely ; the City Hall, so called, is an old office building under lease, and the Board of Education rents offices in another quarter of the business section. The Public Library, formerly housed by courtesy in the Board of Education's old building (torn down some years ago), occupies a small brick building erected temporarily for it. The United States courts, customs offices, and post-office are using an old office building while the new government building is being erected. All these official headquarters are alike in two respects at least,—they are notoriously inadequate in space, and they are lacking in beauty and in cleanliness. Furthermore, vast accumulations of invaluable public records, which could not be duplicated, are in daily danger of absolute destruction, for the City Hall and county court-houses are veritable fire-traps.

### CLEVELAND'S RAPID GROWTH.

It must not be supposed that these conditions have been accepted with complacency by the citizens of Cleveland, nor that no plans were made before 1899 to remedy them. On the contrary, for many years there have been "sinking funds" for the erection of new public buildings. Commissions of leading citizens have been in charge of the funds, and have been preparing to

erect the buildings. A condition common to many American cities has hindered the working out of their plans, and has been responsible for the inadequacy of the building that has been done. This condition is the rapid growth of the city.

This growth was directly due to the discovery and development of the Lake Superior iron-ore region, for 60 per cent. of whose vast output the Cleveland district is the market. After the mine-owners, the shipping and shipbuilding interests are the first to profit by this trade: 80 per cent. of the shipping used in carrying the ore of all the mining region is owned in Cleveland; Cleveland produces a greater tonnage of steel steam vessels than any other port in America, Philadelphia not excepted. The district of which Cleveland is the center assembles iron and coal, authorities say, more cheaply than any other; to this fact are due many of the city's vast manufacturing industries, valued at more than \$100,000,000, and producing annually over \$150,000,000 worth of output, largely iron and steel products.

These are some of the reasons accounting for a population grown from less than 50,000 in 1860 to 450,000, probably, in 1905. Cleveland is now the first city of Ohio in number of inhabitants, and the second on the Great Lakes.

The circumstances of such a growth, as has been said, delayed and deterred the erection of public buildings. The city's future needs are

still difficult to forecast. It is well, however, that these delays occurred, for until 1895 no thought of grouping the proposed buildings harmoniously was suggested. In that year the Cleveland Architectural Club held a competition for "proposed arrangements of the public buildings in a comprehensive group." The plans of several architects were submitted, and the popular interest began to be awakened. In October, 1898, a communication was addressed to the commissioners of the City Hall sinking fund by the Cleveland chapter of the American Institute of Architects requesting the commission "to provide a spacious site for the new City Hall, and to make efforts to harmonize that building, the Public Library, and the County Court House in a group."

#### ADOPTION OF A GROUPING PLAN.

At this time, Col. Myron T. Herrick (now Governor of Ohio) was the chairman of a committee on public buildings of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. No grouping plan had been considered by his committee or by the chamber until the meeting in January, 1899, when the resolution already quoted was adopted.

Since that time the movement has advanced surely, if slowly and with many vicissitudes. One plan after another has been considered and superseded by a better. The legality of commissions has been questioned and decided in the courts, and their personnel changed. The Cham-

ber of Commerce committee then appointed has continued to act, two additions being later made to its number. In March, 1902, there was prepared under its direction a bill to create a board of supervision, and this bill was enacted into law by the State legislature. Under its provisions, the governor appointed Messrs. D. H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, and Arnold W. Brunner as such board. These gentlemen, whose reputation as architects is international, prepared and submitted, in August, 1903, a plan which seems destined to be carried out in detail.

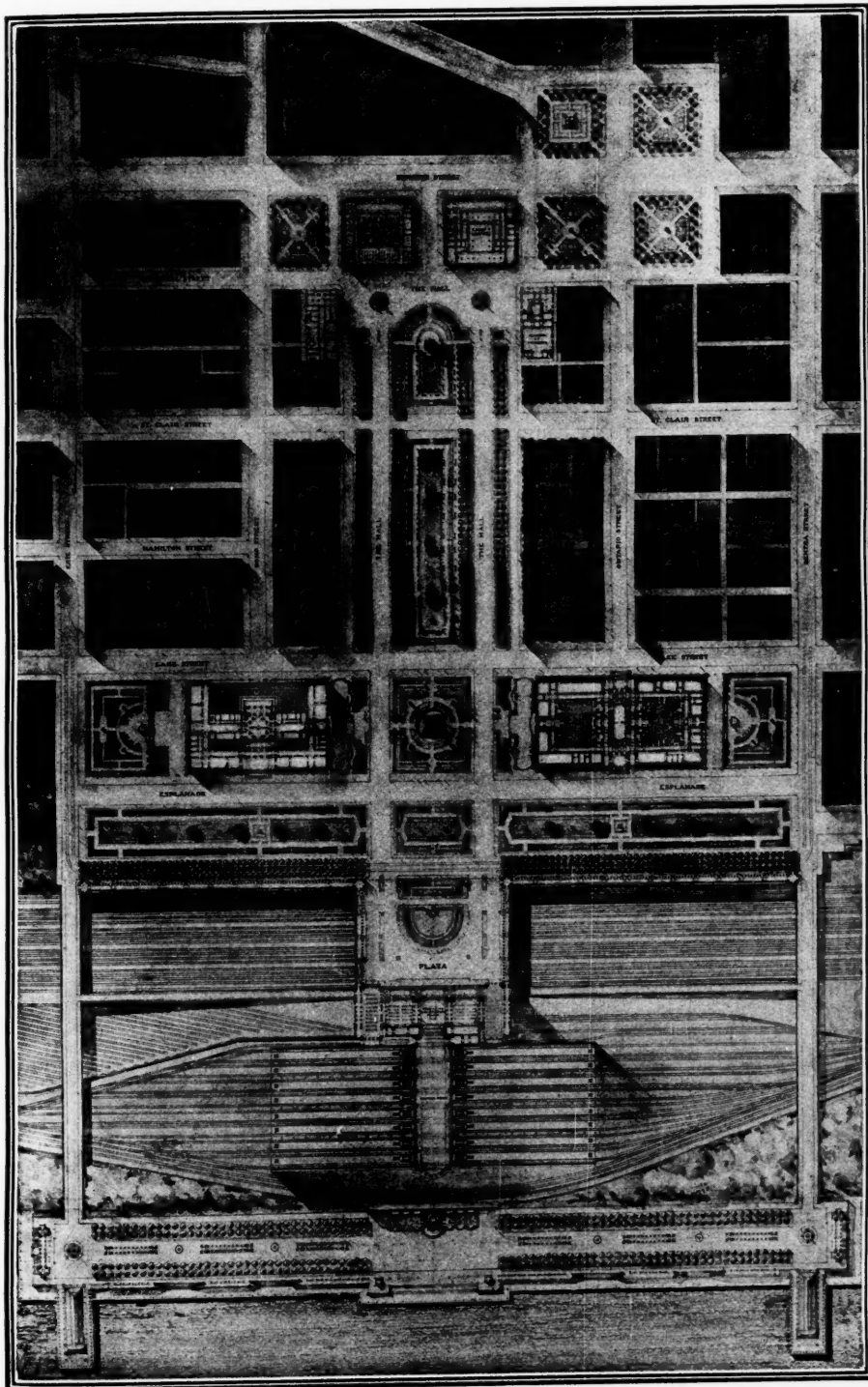
#### FEATURES OF THE PROPOSED SCHEME.

Briefly stated, the plan is as follows: the four public buildings which are abso-



THE FEDERAL BUILDING.

(Arnold W. Brunner, architect.)



THE GROUP PLAN OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND.

(This sketch shows the proposed treatment of the surroundings and approaches, the parkways and pleasure grounds. From an imposing railroad station—on the left—to the Federal Building and library, symmetrically balancing each other—on the right—extends a mall, on either side of which a roadway is provided for traffic approaching the facing buildings. Two other avenues for general traffic are somewhat removed from the buildings and lined on either side by two rows of formal clipped trees, with a sidewalk on the outer edge and a gravel parking with seats and drinking fountains placed under the trees the full length of the mall.)

lute necessities,—Government Building, County Building, City Hall, and Public Library,—are to flank the ends of a mall which will form the main axis of the group, and will lead from the Lake Erie front to Superior Street, the main business thoroughfare.

The county and city buildings will front on a secondary axis, at a right angle to the main axis, near the lake.

The government building (now in course of erection) will be balanced by the Public Library, both fronting on Superior Street, and the space between these buildings will form the south entrance to the mall.

West of the government building site is the northeast section of the public square, which contains a geyser fountain, lawns, and a stone reviewing stand. This corner of the square is also fronted, on its adjacent side, by the Chamber of Commerce Building and the Society for Savings Building,—two dignified structures of a semi-public character. It is proposed to establish east of the library site a small park area which will balance the above-mentioned section of the public square.

At the north end of the mall, through a colonnade between the city and county buildings, will be the entrance to the proposed Union Station, which will then occupy the lake front.

The mall is, perhaps, the most effective feature of the scheme, as in Washington. For its center a sunken garden is planned, on either side of which roadways and paths will be laid out, separated by shade trees clipped in formal fashion. A monumental fountain and groups of statuary will eventually complete the picture. At every point of approach some distant feature of the scheme will terminate a magnificent vista.

It is a part of the plan that the city purchase not only the land necessary for the mall and approaches, but also all the property which will front on the mall. The greater part of this will not be required for public buildings, but is to be resold with restrictions in the deeds, providing for structures of a character to comport with the dignity of the public buildings, and to harmonize with the main theme of the composition. This project will provide sites for many semi-public structures, and it is hoped that a music hall may be the first of these.

#### CLEANING UP A SLUM SECTION.

The future aspect of the district comprised in the boundaries of the plan will be in striking contrast to its present character. Part of the territory required is now occupied by small business and manufacturing plants, but a large part of it, near the lake, is used for questionable

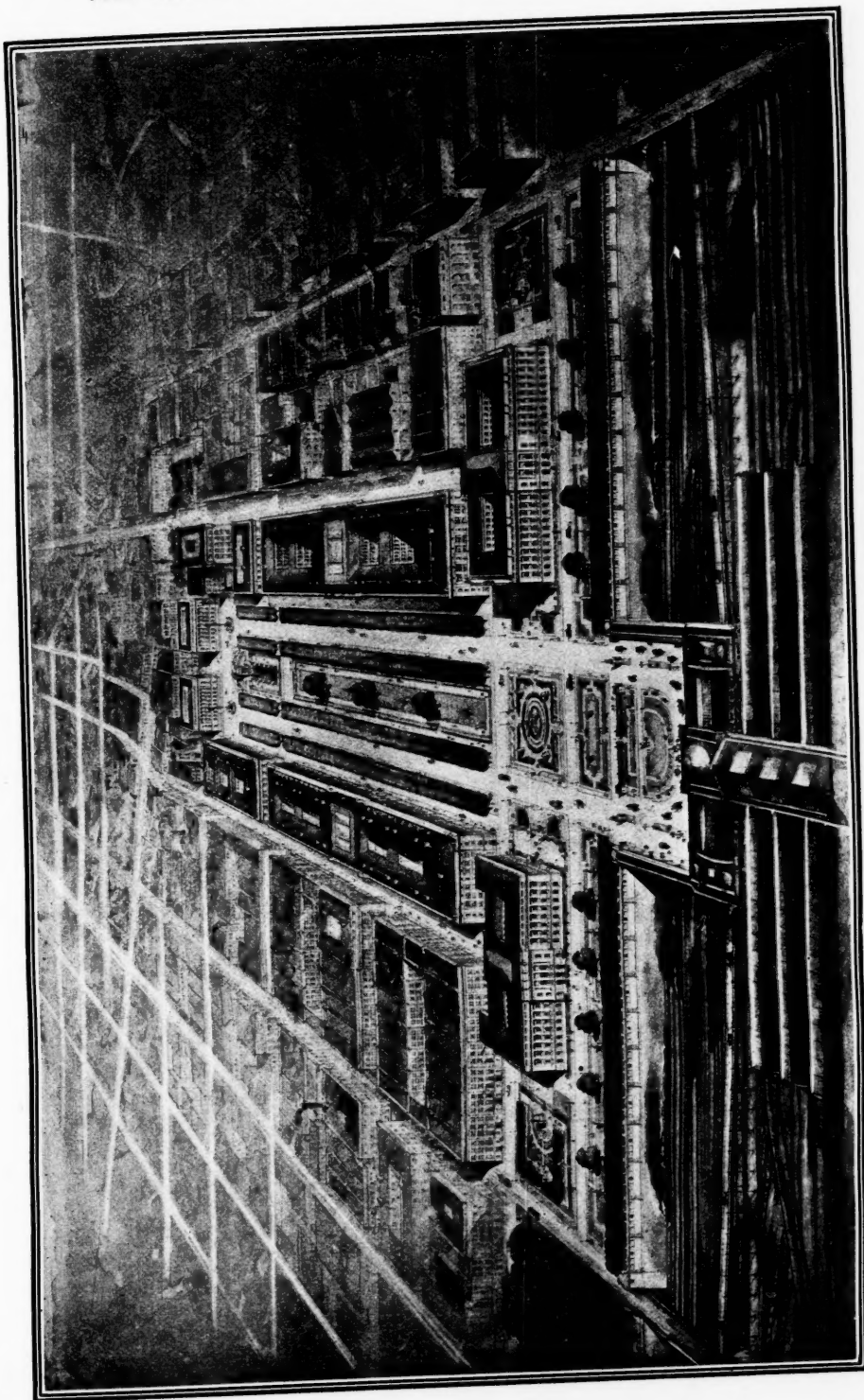
purposes. Years ago many of the fine residences of the day were in this neighborhood; most of them are sold and rented to such tenants as the present conditions will attract. Single-story brick and frame store-fronts alternate with the old houses, and are usually occupied by low saloons. In short, valuable as the land is, it contains almost no buildings of considerable value, and the character of the buildings and the district serves to make it a black belt cutting off the lake front from the view and use of most Cleveland people. The ethical as well as the aesthetic value of the improvements is a strong point in their favor.

#### PRESENT STATUS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The unanimity with which the movement has been furthered is remarkable. From the moment when the Cleveland architects first suggested the scheme, public sentiment has steadily become more and more enthusiastic in its favor. Consider that the "group plan commission" (as the Board of Supervisors has generally come to be known) holds its commission from no body which has power to adopt such a plan,—in fact, that there is no single body so empowered. The consummation of the plan must come, if at all, by the consent and coöperation, even to minor details, of the State legislature, the city council, two building commissions (city and county), the Public Library Board, and the voters who will provide for the necessary bonds. These various representatives of the popular will, in so far as the opportunity has come to them, have each in turn expressed their unqualified approval and pledged their support. What has actually been accomplished to the present time is as follows:

The "United States Post-Office, Custom House, and Court House,"—an imposing granite structure, designed by Mr. Brunner,—is under way, the superstructure being already started. The authorized cost of this building is \$3,000,000. The land for the County Building is purchased and cleared away, and the preliminary plans of the architects of that building are approved by the county. About 90 per cent. of the site for the City Hall has been acquired, and the architect of that building selected by the city. An act of the Legislature, passed at the last session at the instance of the Chamber of Commerce committee (which has been since its appointment the motive power for the whole movement) authorizes the city to purchase land adjacent to the mall, to be sold later with restrictions. Two parcels of land have already been secured for the mall. The railroad companies unofficially favor the plan, and have announced that they are preparing plans for the Union Station, aptly





A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PROPOSED BUILDINGS, LOOKING SOUTH.  
(The railroad station and the city and county buildings appear in the foreground.)

termed by the supervisors "the vestibule of the city."

All that remains to be done to secure the ultimate perfection of the idea is the purchase of the rest of the land for the mall and provision for the library building. The city is already heavily bonded, and a little time will be necessary to work out the financial details. Years will, of course, be necessary for the completion of all the public works, which together make up Cleveland's goal in municipal aesthetics, but years are reasonable expenditures for any American city.

Centuries have been required in the capitals of the old world for developments which Cleveland may rival in years, or decades at most.

#### THE CITY'S INVESTMENT.

The cost of the plan to the city, including sums already expended and careful estimates of future expenditures, is as follows: land for buildings, \$1,603,325; land for mall and esplanade, \$2,475,000; land to be resold, \$2,875,000; buildings, \$6,000,000; improving mall and esplanade, \$899,780. This makes the total cost \$13,853,105, exclusive of the government building and Union Station.

When analyzed, however, the cost of the group plan, as such, resolves itself into the cost of buying and improving the land for the mall and esplanade. The buildings would have to be erected in any event; the need for them, as we have seen, is imperative. The land bought to be resold will certainly command at least as good a figure, and probably a better one, than its cost.

So the city of Cleveland will have acquired for itself a parkway combining many distinctive features of the famous Unter den Linden and the Champs Elysées, and rivaling these and other famous esplanades of Europe, at a cost of less than three and one-half millions, while the surrounding architectural effect will compare favorably with any in the world. For in such

a grouping the chief value does not consist in the splendor of the individual units which make up the scheme, but rather in the relation of each component part to the whole, the dignifying proportion, and the perspective which multiplies the effect of each feature.

In making this investment the city will have acted with a foresight justified by its own experience. A dozen years ago, Cleveland could claim less than one hundred acres of parks. Under a commission of leading citizens, about \$3,000,000 was expended in the purchase and improvement of land. Now Cleveland boasts over 1,500 acres of beautiful parks, containing 47 acres of lakes and ponds, and threaded by 30 miles of splendid driveways and a corresponding length of graveled paths. The worth of these parks and parkways as influences for good and as instruments for education is, of course, incalculable, but in actual figures the land they contain is estimated to be worth \$19,000,000.

#### THE REAL VALUE OF SUCH IMPROVEMENTS.

The worth of the completed group to the community will be correspondingly great, expressed in concrete terms, and correspondingly incalculable in subtle influence. Dignity, beauty, and strength in the outward and visible forms of government cannot but inspire inward and spiritual respect—self-respect in a government by the people.

Urban life, economists and sociologists tell us, is the chief part and problem of the life of to-day and of to-morrow. The awakened public conscience, of which we read and hear and talk so much to-day, is discovering many features of American urban life that are bad. Organized efforts are being made to better most of these conditions for to-morrow. It is a hopeful sign; and none of these efforts, we think, is more hopeful or more significant than the one here typified in Cleveland.



PROJECTED FOUNTAIN AT NORTH OF MALL, BETWEEN COURT HOUSE AND CITY HALL.



ONE OF PHILADELPHIA'S VACANT-LOT GARDENS.

## FARMING VACANT CITY LOTS.

BY ALLAN SUTHERLAND.

[One purpose of Mr. H. Rider Haggard's visit to the United States, this spring, was a commission from the British Government to investigate and report on the character of the vacant-lot garden work of Philadelphia, which is described in the following article. The subject of school gardens in great cities was treated by Miss Helen Christine Bennett in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for April, 1904 (page 439).]

IN the great business depression of 1893-94, the deplorable condition of many unemployed men and their families demanded the most thoughtful consideration on the part of philanthropists. The ordinary methods of relief proved altogether inadequate to meet the greatly increased suffering. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the "ordinary" means are, as a rule, ever truly helpful, for the real aim of charity should be directed along the line of placing "the submerged tenth" in a position where they may earn a livelihood by their own efforts; all other plans too frequently become nurseries of parasitism, enfeebling the fiber of character and manhood and increasing pauperism.

Many schemes were suggested at the time to meet the growing needs of the people, the happiest and most fruitful in good results being that proposed by the then mayor of Detroit, the Hon. Hazen S. Pingree, which became popularly known as "Pingree's Potato Patch Scheme."

His plan, in brief, was to loan the vacant land in and about the city to the unemployed people to cultivate, giving them all that they could produce. The suggestion was a novel one, and many thought it visionary; but being put to a practical test, resulted in many pleasant surprises. Landowners were quick to place vacant lots at the disposal of the city authorities, and the needy were no less willing to enter upon their cultivation. Out of a thousand families then receiving aid from the city and from charitable organizations, more than nine hundred availed themselves of this avenue of relief. The municipal committee having charge of the experiment expended \$3,600 on seed, implements, and other necessities. A conservative estimate placed the value of the first season's produce, which consisted chiefly of potatoes, at \$15,000. This unexpected result clearly demonstrated the value of the plan. In his annual message to the City Council, in January, 1895, the mayor thus referred to it:

It seems to me that the experiment has demonstrated,—first, that at least 95 per cent. of the people who are in destitute circumstances as a result of the hard times are ready, willing, and anxious to work; second, that a large number of these people can be supported by utilizing vacant lands on the outskirts of the city; third, that a very small space of ground is sufficient to raise enough vegetables to support a family through the winter; fourth, that a majority of our citizens who own vacant land would much rather allow it to be cultivated by the poor than to pay a large tax for their support; and, fifth, that the needy are, therefore, assisted without creating the demoralization in the habits of the people that gratuitous aid always entails.

The following year the results were even more gratifying, and other cities were quick to adopt a plan which had in it so much promise of usefulness. The return of general prosperity, however, soon lessened the interest and the need, and also the number of workers; in many places the work ceased to be vigorously prosecuted, while in others it was altogether abandoned.

#### THE WORK IN PHILADELPHIA.

In no city has the plan been so systematically and so helpfully introduced as in Philadelphia. Under the supervision of Mr. R. F. Powell, a clear-brained, enthusiastic lover of nature and humanity, essential qualifications in such work, the enterprise has gone steadily forward to ever-

enlarging usefulness, and has shown that there is always a large number of worthy poor who need, and who will gladly avail themselves of, this opportunity of self-support. Mr. Powell and those associated with him believe that it is infinitely wiser to give a man a chance to earn his living than to support him by charity; that soup-houses and wayfarers' lodges are no solution of the great problem of dealing with the poor; that bread-eaters should, so far as practicable, be bread-winners, and that men should live by their own and not by the labors of others.

Some twenty-seven acres were secured in 1897, and were divided into gardens 76 by 100 feet. The ground was loaned on condition that it should be returned, if necessary, to the owner on ten days' notice. Fortunately, no such notices were given. Many applications were received for allotments—far more than could be granted, on account of lack of ground. Each gardener was provided with implements and seed, and was given instructions by the superintendent as to how the one should be used and the other planted and cared for. The following regulations were adopted:

1. Each person receiving land is required to cultivate it thoroughly throughout the season, as directed by the superintendent.
2. Each planter must keep an accurate account of all



WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT WORK PLANTING IN THEIR GARDENS.





BOYS AT WORK IN ONE OF THE SCHOOL GARDENS IN ABOUT THE MOST CLOSELY BUILT-UP SECTIONS OF THE CITY.  
(Each plot is marked off by a numbered stake, corresponding to the number on the tag which each gardener wears.)

the time spent by himself and others in cultivating his garden.

3. An accurate account must be kept of the quantity and value of all produce sold, used, or given away.

4. Failure to comply with these regulations, or to follow the instructions of the superintendent, may cause forfeiture of the allotted land.

For a number of reasons, more than 15 per cent. of the gardens were forfeited during the first summer. It was feared that stealing would prove a serious difficulty, as many of the Lilliputian farms were located where such a temptation would be strong; but little trouble, however, was experienced in that direction, as the gardeners arranged a cooperative plan by which the crops were protected.

The amount expended by the association the first year was \$1,825. Ninety-six families were aided, and vegetables valued at \$6,000 were raised. Thus, for every dollar invested more than three dollars resulted.

Mr. Powell thus speaks of the work:

Each gardener was required to cultivate his garden according to one general plan. One-half was planted in potatoes; the other, in beans, peas, cabbage, tomatoes, carrots, turnips, onions, lettuce, radishes, etc. Each

worker was given the widest possible latitude as to what he should plant, but was required to make beds across his garden the same width and on the same plan as his neighbors. One intelligent farmer would make a good teacher for many others; those who did not know how, and there were many, would watch those who did, and would then put what they learned into immediate practice. . . . The incalculable benefit of fresh air and moderate exercise to the physical and moral health of every one is well known. Men have come to these gardens in the spring who had become poor partly or wholly through drink, and by the end of the season have left us sober and industrious citizens. What made the change? Instead of hanging around, they have found pleasant and profitable employment wherein they were their own master. Parents bring little ones along to help weed and pick vegetables. Through the healthfulness of the work, which is in no sense toil, the pale, hollow-cheeked little ones become ruddy, bright-eyed, laughing joys, filled with vigor and happiness before the season is over. "The country week" becomes a "summer's outing," while the playground becomes also a workshop. To compare this natural relief with other ways of helping the unemployed may be rather odious, especially to city governments that are spending millions of poor funds every year while poverty and squalor are growing deeper and wider every day. For each dollar contributed to vacant lots' cultivation in 1903 the beneficiaries for whom it was spent had, by adding to it their own labor, which



STRAIGHT ROWS OF VEGETABLES, WELL WEEDED.

(Showing shanty in the background, used for the storing of tools, and vegetables.)

otherwise would have been forever wasted, fully eight dollars' worth of produce. For each dollar paid in poor rates to a city the beneficiaries seldom get over fifty cents of actual aid. This is of vast importance to taxpayers and city officials charged with municipal responsibility, as well as to philanthropists. Some may be rather skeptical as to the statements made, especially in regard to the large returns for the small expenditures. It should be considered that our market is next door to the gardens and that the gardener does his own marketing. His produce is fresh and of the highest quality, and he gets the highest retail price. He gets his fertilizers for next to nothing, as there are thousands of tons of good manure and street sweepings annually thrown on the city dumps, which can be had merely for the asking.

According to last year's report, the total cost of the work of the association was \$5,000; the number of persons affected, 3,581; and the value of the produce, \$50,000. The number of acres increased from 27 in 1897 to 196 in 1904; the number of gardens from 100 to 756; the total product from \$6,000 to \$50,000; while the cost of cultivation per garden was decreased from \$18.25 to \$6.16. There were only three forfeitures during the year on account of neglect and trespass.

#### IN CONNECTION WITH SCHOOLS AND RAILROADS.

A comparatively new and interesting extension of the work is its introduction into public schools, where it was a prominent success from the start. Already the day of experiment is past,—nature-study and gardening are becoming important factors in educational circles, and an effort is being made to bring them within reach of every child. Boys and girls are becoming more and more interested in this attractive work, which takes them out of themselves, out-of-doors, and into closer and more sympathetic relations with one another. The purpose, primarily, is to teach children how to plant and grow flowers and vegetables by permitting them to do the actual work, so that they may have such practical knowledge of farming as to be able to make a living from it should the need and opportunity come. In addition, they get instruction and exercise which help them morally, mentally, and physically. Each child is given its own garden—about nine by twelve feet—on the conditions that the holder must work faithfully and must not trespass upon others. It is an inspiring sight to see these little ones cultivating the ground that it may bring forth a beautiful flower or a useful vegetable, and, above all, to realize that they are privileged to breathe fresh air and to look up to nature's God through long hours of glorious and health giving sunshine. The hope is indulged that this cultivation of the soil by the children will instill into their hearts



VIEW OF ONE OF THE VACANT-LOT GARDENS, SHOWING SOME OF THE RESULTS OF A SUCCESSFUL PLANTING.

such a love of outdoor life that many will turn their feet countryward and seek a living upon farms rather than remain in the city to find employment in the already overcrowded offices, shops, and factories.

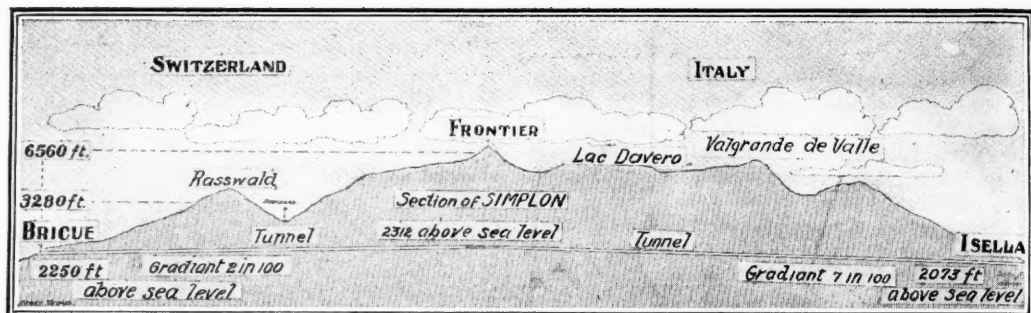
The excellent results which have followed the general work in Philadelphia have excited interest at home and abroad. In 1899, a director of the association gave a lecture in Paris on the work, and distributed copies of the annual report of that year. A benevolent woman became impressed with the value of the plan. She procured some vacant land and said to those who applied to her for aid, "Here is a chance to work; what you produce shall be your own." Many availed themselves of the privilege and prospered beyond their highest expectations. The idea spread and was widely adopted; even the railroad companies of France recognized its value and began putting it into practical operation by granting to their employees the use of vacant strips of land here and there. The Nord (Northern Railway) has already made 3,000 allotments; l'Est (the Eastern), 3,620; the Midi

(Southern), 2,600 to its trainmen and trackmen and 650 to its station agents and clerks,—these 3,250 allotments represent an area of 450 acres. The Orleans Railway has set apart plots for 6,000 of its employees. An earnest effort is being made by Mr. Powell to have the plan adopted by the railroads of this country. He has just succeeded in having it introduced on a comparatively large scale by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and he is sure that the idea will spread.

Many and interesting are the stories told by Mr. Powell of the results which have already followed the work,—of health restored, of independence gained, of heroic struggles to help others, of drunkards redeemed, of a slow but steady movement to enjoy the larger freedom of the country, of a growing discontent with present surroundings, and of a wise impulse to follow that which is truest and best in life. The Vacant Lots' Cultivation Association of Philadelphia is entering upon the present season hopefully, and with the consciousness that it has a far-reaching and ever-widening mission of usefulness.



THE SUPERINTENDENT SHOWING CHILDREN HOW TO PLANT FLOWER SEEDS.  
(One of the first school gardens in Philadelphia, at the Church Home for Children.)



A SECTIONAL VIEW OF THE REGION, SHOWING WHERE THE SIMPLON TUNNEL PIERCES THE RANGE OF MOUNTAINS BETWEEN ITALY AND SWITZERLAND.

## UNDER THE ALPS FOR TWELVE MILES.

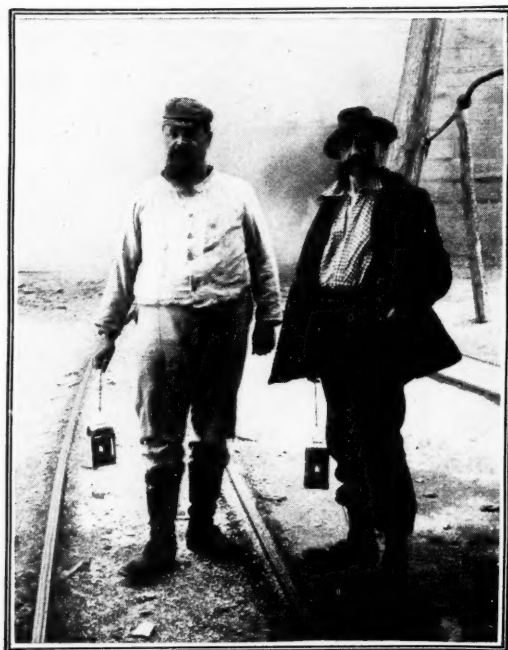
WITH the explosion of a small dynamite cartridge, on the morning of February 24, seven thousand feet below the summit of Monte Leone, one of the peaks of the Alps, many thousands of gallons of water from a hot spring in Switzerland flowed into Italy, and the famous Simplon tunnel had been completed.

This longest railway tunnel in the world was begun in the summer of 1898. Its importance

had been pointed out half a century ago, but nothing of a practical nature had been done until 1893, when plans were first considered and a provisional contract for the construction was made with the firm of the late Alfred Brandt, the famous engineer of the St. Gothard tunnel. An international commission, consisting of representative engineers from Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Great Britain, devoted several months of 1894 to a complete study of the plans and proposals, and in July of that year, the governments of Switzerland and Italy entered into a treaty authorizing the construction of the tunnel, and agreed to share the expense, which has totaled fifteen million dollars.

This tunnel,—or, rather, two tunnels at a distance of fifty feet apart,—extends from the Swiss town of Brigue to the Italian town of Iselle, a distance of  $12\frac{1}{4}$  miles. The two tunnels are connected by cross passages at intervals. The whole of both bores will, when completed, be lined throughout with heavy masonry, and train service will be in working order, it is hoped, early this summer.

Many engineering difficulties had to be overcome. A very hard formation of rock was encountered at the outset on the Italian side, which rendered necessary the construction of special machinery for boring. Two miles beyond this powerful cold springs were met with, from which poured more than five hundred gallons of water per minute, causing several weeks' suspension of work on the Italian side. Then a soft stratum of rock was encountered, requiring very careful shoring. Last September hot water began to pour into the tunnel, causing a rise of temperature to  $131^{\circ}$  Fahr., and necessitating a suspension of work for several months. Geological experts had claimed that what is known as the rock temperature, at a distance of seven thousand feet below



THE ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SIMPLON TUNNEL AND HIS FIRST LIEUTENANT IN WORKADAY DRESS.

(Baron Hugo von Kager, the one on the right, controls the fortunes of the tunnel from the Swiss side of the range.)



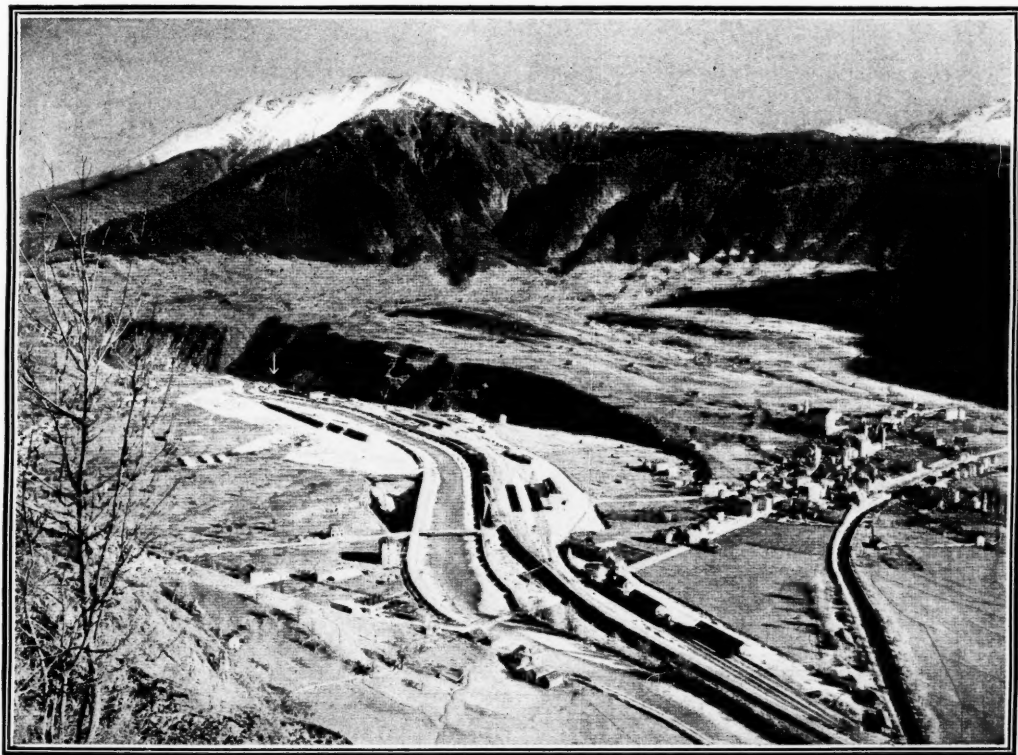
the surface, would render successful work impossible. At times the heat was almost insufferable. But all these difficulties were met and overcome by the patience and genius of the engineering corps, headed by Baron Hugo von Kager, who has had control of the work from the Swiss side. On the Italian side, Mr. Conrad Pressel was in charge, with Signor Bacilieri as his chief engineer. The work was done by a set of splendid drills, which bored eighteen feet per day of twenty-four hours, the work being continuous, day and night, and no man dropping his tools until his successor had actually stepped into his place.

One of the remarkable features of the work

has been the standard of health maintained among the three thousand men employed. Arrangements for their comfort and health, for



METHOD OF TRANSPORTATION OVER THE SIMPLON RANGE BEFORE THE BUILDING OF THE TUNNEL.



WHERE THE TUNNEL ENTERS THE SIMPLON RANGE ON THE SWISS SIDE.

(The tunnel enters the mountain in the Rhône valley, near Brigue. Some of the numerous offices, workshops, hospitals, and dwelling-houses necessitated by the tunnel works are shown in the foreground.)

protection from sudden changes of temperature, for changing and drying their clothes, and for substantial food were made. The ventilation was excellent. New towns and villages sprang up, Aladdin-like, in the surrounding villages for the accommodation of engineers and workmen. Special boring tools were used to make the holes for the liquid air or dynamite blasting cartridges. The work consisted of three continuous operations: (1) boring, (2) blasting, and (3) clearing away the rock fragments.

It will be interesting to note the comparative length of this tunnel, with its  $12\frac{1}{4}$  miles' extent. The next longest tunnel in the world is the St. Gothard,  $9\frac{1}{4}$  miles, and the third longest is the Mont Cenis, also in Switzerland,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles. After this comes the Baltimore & Ohio tunnel, at Baltimore, which is 7 miles long. The meeting of

the two boring parties, Swiss and Italian, was signaled throughout Switzerland by the ringing of church bells and the salutes of cannon. President Ruchet sent messages of congratulation to King Victor Emmanuel, expressing the hope that this great work would strengthen the friendship between Italy and Switzerland and add to the prosperity of both. The benefits will extend to the rest of the Continent and to Great Britain.

When the tunnel is entirely completed and the Jura-Simplon Railway sends its finely lighted vestibule trains through on their way from Calais to Milan, England and Italy will be almost twenty-four hours nearer each other than before. Instead of painfully climbing through the snowy passes of the Alps, the future Hannibal or Napoleon will take his invading army into Italy in a train *de luxe*.

## THE FIRST TURBINE LINER TO CROSS THE ATLANTIC.

THE first turbine Atlantic liner, the steamship *Victorian*, built at Belfast, in the yards of Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co., has recently completed her maiden voyage, from Liverpool to Montreal.

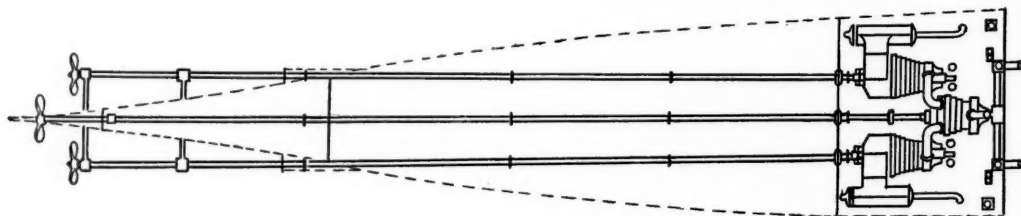
This new 12,000-tonner is a striking contrast to the ordinary straight-sided ocean steamer of to-day. Her lines fore and aft are sharp and clean, swelling gracefully into a noble breadth amidships, which suggests high qualities of steadiness and stability, as well as capacity for speed, which could hardly be excelled.

What makes the *Victorian* so interesting an object to the shipping world just now is her position as the pioneer of a departure which may revolutionize the character of the ocean liner from a shipbuilder's and passenger's standpoint in as great a degree as did the departure which introduced the twin-screw and the 500-footer.

One high-pressure and two low-pressure Parsons turbines will drive the three propellers of

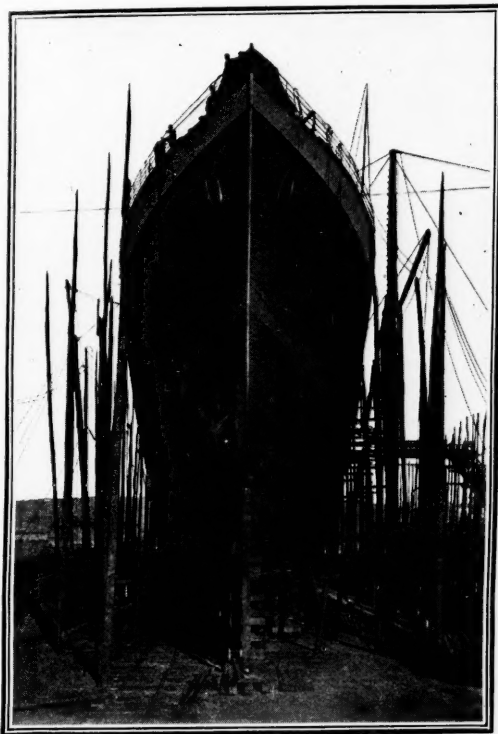
the ship, which, by the way, strike one as being unusually small to drive a monster possessing a cargo capacity of more than 8,000 tons, besides accommodation and equipment for upward of 1,300 passengers. The propellers, however, revolve at a very high speed—from 270 to 300 revolutions per minute. The central one, arranged as in a single-screw vessel, is worked by the high-pressure turbine; the others, which are arranged as in a twin-screw ship, by the low-pressure turbines. The two latter have each a reversing arrangement which enables them to be driven full speed astern, either together or independently. Thus, the ship will be as easily and effectively maneuvered as regards turning or backing as an ordinary twin-screw. This disposes of the objection which has sometimes been urged against turbines,—that they are defective with regard to reversing motion.

The steam to drive the turbines will be generated by eight large boilers of the usual type.

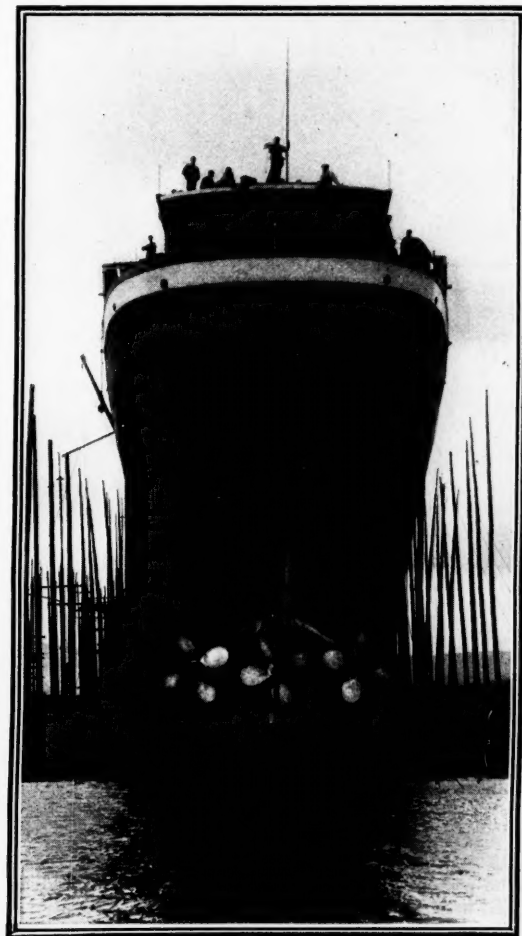


A SECTIONAL VIEW, SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF MACHINERY IN THE "VICTORIAN."

The length of the *Victorian* is 540 feet, her breadth, 60 feet; her depth, 40 feet 6 inches. She is divided by bulkheads into eleven compartments, and, with the subdivisions of her double bottom, she has twenty water-tight spaces. She is built to the highest class of the British Corporation Registry of Shipping, and her hull



THE ALLAN LINE TURBINE STEAMER "VICTORIAN" BEFORE LAUNCHING.



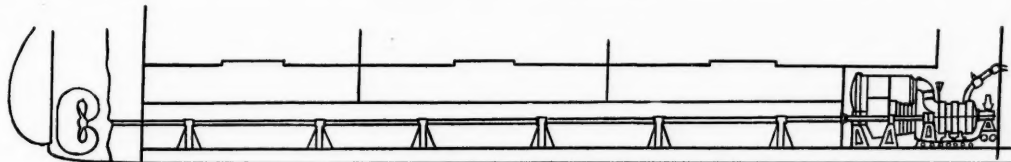
A STERN VIEW OF THE "VICTORIAN," SHOWING HER THREE SCREWS.

has been specially strengthened above the requirements of the corporation in order to make her doubly secure against the heavy weather of the North Atlantic.

As regards facilities for the handling of cargo, the ship is as perfectly fitted as possible. She has no less than ten steam winches and derricks

for working the hold, and she is provided with insulated chambers and a refrigerating plant.

Before the end of the year the *Victorian* will have settled practically the question of the adaptability of turbine engines to ocean liners,—a problem which has been agitating the minds of shipping men for some time past.



A SECTIONAL ELEVATION, SHOWING MAIN SHAFT FROM TURBINE ENGINE.

# JOHN H. REAGAN,—A CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY WALTER FLAVIUS M'CALEB.

(Authorized editor of Judge Reagan's Memoirs.)

**J**OHN H. REAGAN—judge and statesman and the last survivor of the Confederate cabinet—is dead. The loss is not restricted to the State of Texas, but the Union at large is the sufferer, for no truer statesman (as he saw the right) ever labored for the betterment of his country.

He was born, on October 8, 1818, in Sevier County, Tennessee. The riflemen of his own State, who, under Jackson, at New Orleans, had aided in destroying Pakenham's army, were but returned from the war; it was truly a time when familiarity with the rifle was of infinitely more consequence than knowledge of books. There was, moreover, in the very air the spirit of the wilderness, which was as yet unconquered; indeed, challenging conquest. To aid in this had Judge Reagan's father come over the mountains (there was but one "Mountains" in that day, the Alleghanies), fresh from the ranks of the Revolutionary army. He had acquired a small landed estate, and in due course young Reagan busied himself on the farm and in the tanyard of his father. But the log schoolhouse had for him a greater attraction, and so we find him at an early age setting out from home and laboring at whatever he could find to do in order to secure an education. However, charitably be it said, the schools and academies of his day were not models of pedagogic or Spencerian wisdom, nor distinguished for their cultural influences. Whatever they were, Judge Reagan got out of them the best there was to give, though all through his life he suffered from want of proper training in the use of English. Frontier-born and bred, he entered life endowed with an intuitive faculty of meeting emergencies on the spot, with a tact useful later in placating antagonists of various types. He had other qualities of the frontier, too,—force, directness, frankness, patience, courage,—scarcely ever found in the same degree in the settled centers of society. The temptation to contrast him with Senator Hoar is very strong, for they were in many respects at antipodes,—in many, shoulder to shoulder. It is sufficient to know that one was born in Concord—the Concord of Emerson and Hawthorne—and the other in Tennessee—the State of Sevier and Jackson.

Politically, Judge Reagan was a Democrat of the Andrew Jackson type. As a boy, he grew

up under this influence, for "Old Hickory" had assumed his sway in Tennessee. Besides, Democracy of this sort could exist only on the frontier or in the communities but newly sprung from the loins of society. The application of the dogma of such a Democracy as was held by the West from 1800 to 1850 was impossible in a society which had begun to build cities and establish factories. And all his life Judge Reagan stood for the simplest governmental forms, looking with alarm upon the innovations of latter-day administrations. Principles were everything to him. He could even refuse the nomination for governor because some of the planks in the platform were out of accord with his views.

## A JACKSON DEMOCRAT AND A UNIONIST.

Judge Reagan was twenty-one years of age when he crossed the Sabine into the Republic of Texas. There still rang the echoes of the Texas Revolution, which in itself had been but a protest against governmental machinery,—a conflict between Anglo-Saxon and Spanish institutions. The wars with the Indians which followed were also in the nature of simplifying the problems of government, and here, as a young man, he launched forth boldly, taking part in the famous Cherokee War. Next, as deputy public surveyor, he marked out the lands in some of the unsettled counties; became justice of the peace, a law-maker of the State, and district judge,—having fully embarked upon his life's work. In 1857, he entered the arena of national politics, having been drawn, quite against his wish, into accepting at the hands of the Democrats (their opponents being the Americans, or Know-nothings) a nomination for Congress. Two years later he was again nominated and again elected, and in the halls of Congress was one of those who stood most strongly for the preservation of the Union, his great speech in that direction being one of impelling force. But the die was cast, and toward the end of January, 1861, he, along with many Southern members, withdrew from the Capitol, but not until all compromise measures had failed.

## THE CONFEDERACY'S POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

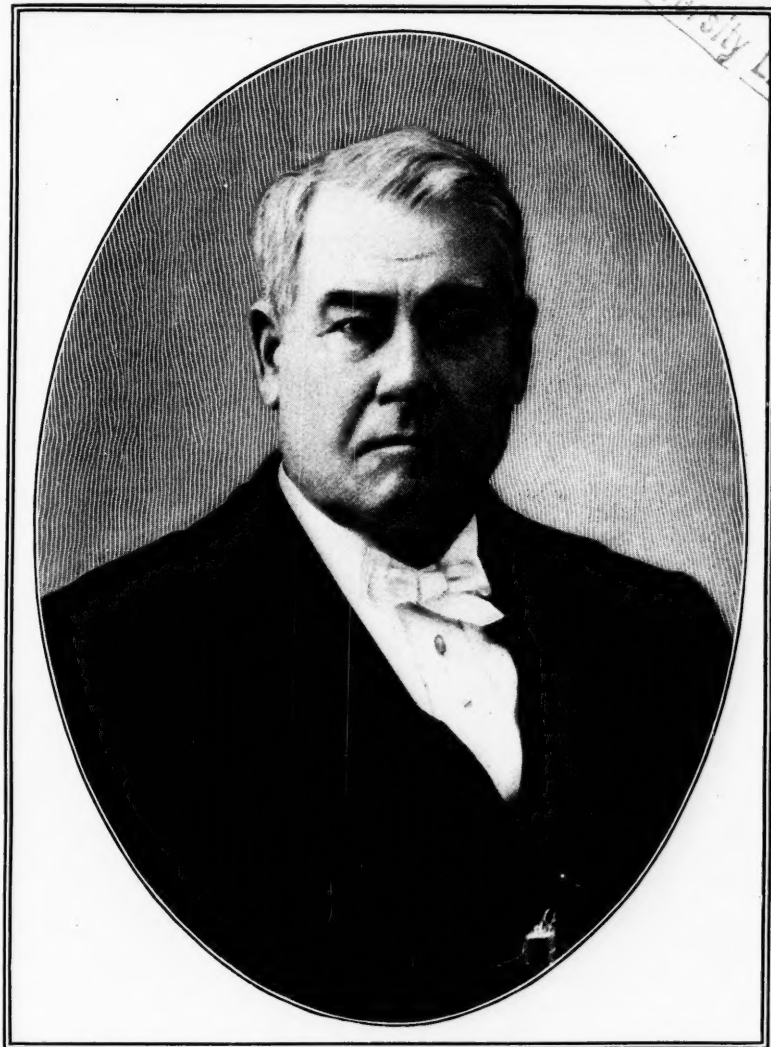
This was the beginning of the crucial period, for while he was *en route* home he learned of his



election to the Secession convention of his State. The tie of union having been broken, he was chosen as one of the six delegates to the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy. In Montgomery, while taking part in the formation of the constitution for the Confederacy, to his surprise, he was offered by President-elect Davis the appointment of Postmaster-General. He accepted the rôle with misgivings, for it was no simple task to organize and set in operation a postal system of the magnitude demanded by the seceding States,—a system which was to be subjected to the severest tests. Here was his great triumph. Not only did he give the South better mail service for half the cost under the Union, but actually year after year, while the financial condition of the Confederacy steadily grew worse, he increased the net returns of his department. Even the last year of the war the surplus in the treasury credited to his department was no mean sum.

This was a splendid achievement,—an achievement proclaiming exceptional executive ability.

Apart from Mr. Reagan's duties as Postmaster-General of the Confederacy, he was one of the most faithful and trusted of President Davis' advisers. On many points of policy he took issue, not only with the other cabinet members, but with the President as well. The most conspicuous instance of this character concerned the plan of the campaign of 1863. He opposed with more than mild words the sending of General Lee into Pennsylvania, urging the dispatch of part of his forces to the relief of Pemberton before Vicksburg and the clearing of Tennessee



THE LATE JOHN H. REAGAN, OF TEXAS.

and Kentucky of Union troops, the Army of Virginia meantime acting on the defensive. After a decision had been made, Judge Reagan wrote a final note to the President appealing in vain for a reconsideration of the question, pointing out the certain calamities which eventuated in Vicksburg and Gettysburg.

It was a marked characteristic of the man that when once a conclusion was reached he held it with a pertinacity recalling the elder Pitt. He had definite ideas on whatever matter came before him, and he was conspicuous in the cabinet for his clear-cut conceptions of what was best to be done under the circumstances. On the bat-

tle field his coolness and bravery were admirable, and in the fighting around Richmond several times he was under fire, while on one occasion his presence of mind probably saved the capital from Sheridan's cavalry.

#### JUDGE REAGAN'S LOYALTY TO JEFFERSON DAVIS.

After the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's unvanquished though beaten army, he displayed his genius for dealing with pressing problems of state. General Johnston's fragment of army, facing the hosts of General Sherman, could but choose to lay down its arms, and the terms of surrender were certain to constitute a precedent which might involve the whole of the Confederacy. This Judge Reagan realized, and, first of all the cabinet, drew up and submitted for its consideration a tentative agreement, which, indeed, was finally accepted almost *in toto* by the victorious general. However, hope was not yet abandoned by the executive as to ultimate triumph, and as the bedraggled companies of Confederates, under General Breckenridge, beat on southward, Judge Reagan's was one of the stoutest hearts. This was shown by his appointment to the portfolio of Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Trenholm having resigned on account of illness. Thus, acting in the double capacity of Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Treasury, he went bravely on with President Davis when others fell away from him and his sinking cause to fly, as Benjamin, in disguise to friendly shores, or to caress, as some did, the conqueror.

On May 10, 1865, the Davis party was captured and hurried northward. At Hampton Roads, where the prisoners were separated, Judge Reagan besought General Wilson, who was in command, to be allowed to accompany Mr. Davis, who, as many thought, was certain to be executed. Long afterward the judge met General Wilson, who smilingly remarked that he remembered well the day the judge had begged to be shot. That was typical of the man. He knew that he was as guilty, morally or otherwise, as his chief, and that whatever fate befell that chief was meet for his adviser.

#### ACCEPTING THE RESULTS OF THE WAR.

Imprisoned in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, a few cells removed from Alexander H. Stephens, far from losing heart, he straightway set about ways and means to secure the readjustment of the States on lines acceptable to both sections. His Fort Warren letter, all things considered, was nothing short of prophetic. It urged the people of Texas to recognize the loss of their cause and to accept the legitimate fruits of the war, if they would escape heavier calamities. He

foresaw, as scarcely any man in the South, the horrors of Reconstruction, and strove manfully to avoid them. Even after his release and return on parole to Texas, he never ceased his vigilance, urging in a letter to Governor Throckmorton, and in one to the people of the State, that the amendments to the Constitution needs must be acceded to. Alas! his advice fell on deaf ears, and he was held up to censure by those he sought to save, many of whom came, with bitterness, to see that he was right.

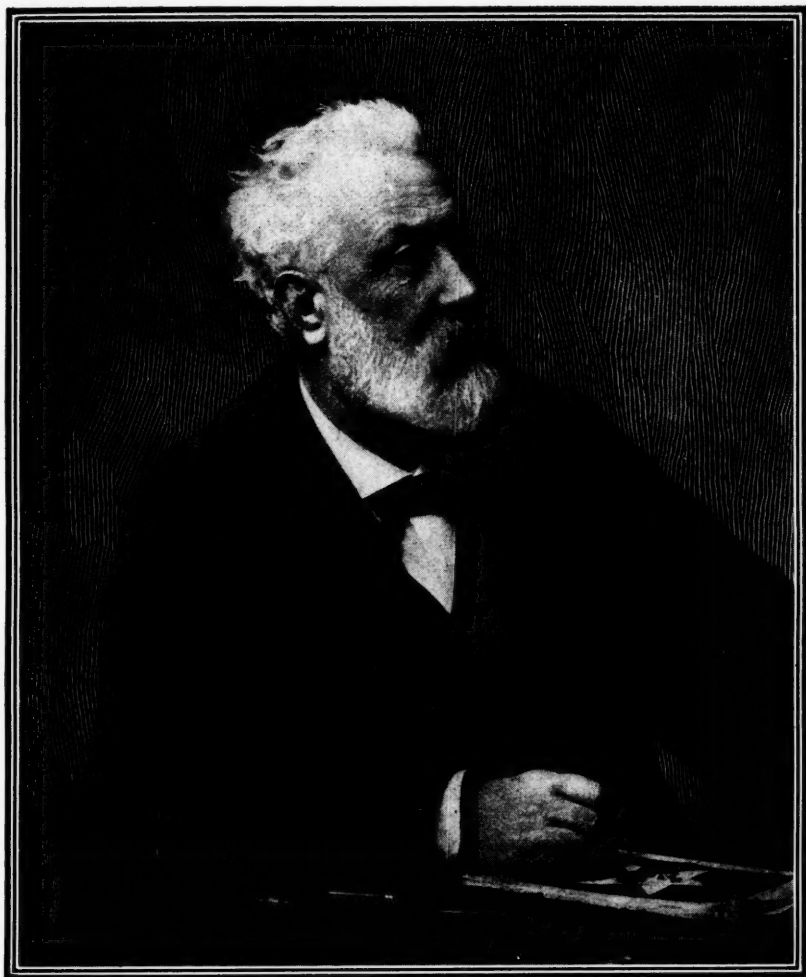
#### IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

At length came his release from Fort Warren. Disfranchised and defeated, the man rose superior to all obstacles. He retired to his farm, at Fort Houston, near Palestine, and laid his hand to the plow, looking not backward. When his disabilities had been removed by Congress he resumed the practice of law, and in 1875 was returned to Congress, his service being continuous up to his election to the Senate in 1887. During this period his most distinguished labor was on the Committee on Commerce. For eight years he served as chairman, securing the passage of the present interstate commerce law in the face of bitter opposition. So honorable was his career that the State chose to honor him by elevating him to the post of Senator; and here, again, we find that his every thought was how best to serve his people.

#### AS RAILROAD COMMISSIONER OF TEXAS.

If he had not on other occasions shown that no sacrifice was too great for him to make, his resignation from the Senate to accept the appointment of railroad commissioner of his State would abundantly prove it. Not alone was the post of chairman of the commission less remunerative than that of Senator, but to withdraw from Washington to Austin to undertake the arduous labor of organizing a system which should curb the rapacity of the roads of the State might well have deterred the hardiest. And yet the Senator, despite his seventy-two years, took up the burden and carried it to a most successful ending. After ten years of this exacting routine he retired to his home and began—a labor which had been, alas! all too long neglected—his Memoirs. Happily, when the final summons came, the written record was complete.

Up to the very last, Judge Reagan never lost interest in politics, though he came to be more and more pessimistic over the trend of events. Nevertheless, optimism had always been with him a religious principle, and of none could it be better said: he was one who "Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph."



## JULES VERNE, NOVELIST AND SEER.

**J**ULES VERNE, who died at Amiens, France, on March 24, at the age of seventy-seven, has been described as a story-teller who made science live even as the elder Dumas gave life to history. His was an imagination that predicted the semi-miraculous without jarring too severely the reader's sense of the probable. No other writer of fiction has anticipated so many practical inventions. We of this generation have lived to see submarine navigation accomplished, but men who are now gray can recall the spell under which as boys they followed the marvelous adventures of Captain Nemo in "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea." "Round the World in Eighty Days" is no longer an astounding title, since the journey has been

made in even shorter time. "Five Weeks in a Balloon" (written in 1862) foreshadowed the dirigible flying-machines of the twentieth century. Among the more important of his stories, in addition to the three already mentioned, are "The Giant Raft; or, Eight Hundred Leagues on the Amazon;" "The Cryptogram;" "Hector Servadac;" "Keraban the Inflexible;" "Mistress Branican;" "The Mysterious Island;" "Around the Moon;" "Mathias Sandorf;" "An Antarctic Mystery;" "The Sphinx of the Ice-fields," and "Michael Strogoff." Jules Verne lived a quiet life at Amiens, where he had married his wife in 1857. In 1867, at the time of the voyage of the *Great Eastern*, he made a visit to the United States.

## THREE OF THE LEADERS OF THE NEXT BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

JUDGED by any political test that can be applied, a decisive Liberal victory is a certainty in the next general election in Great Britain. The dissolution of the "Khaki" Parliament of 1900 may be deferred for several months, but when it does come, the Balfour ministry will go. Even Mr. Chamberlain has publicly admitted this. Indeed, it may be said that the triumph of Mr. Chamberlain in capturing the Unionist-Conservative party is proving to be the doom of that party.

Who will be the Liberal premier? In the new ministry, it may safely be inferred, the names of Earl Spencer, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, John Morley, James Bryce, Herbert Gladstone, Winston Churchill, Herbert Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Lloyd George, and Sir Charles Dilke will be prominent. Two statesmen, however, Earl Spencer and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, will undoubtedly be foremost in the consideration of King Edward when that eminently constitutional monarch summons one of the recognized Liberal leaders to form a new ministry.

Lord Rosebery is out of the running,—he has voluntarily ostracized himself. His abilities are recognized, but he will scarcely ever again be prime minister. He is wanted as foreign minister, but that position he does not seek. Then, of course, in the event of Mr. Chamberlain's securing sufficient following to make a composite ministry possible,—a ministry made up of Liberals and free-trade Unionists,—the Duke of Devonshire would, in all likelihood, preside over the cabinet. But this would seem to be very improbable. Throughout the entire United Kingdom it is assumed that King Edward will summon either the "Red Earl" or "C.-B." to be his next premier. The eminence of these two men, and their fidelity to their political ideals, have entitled them to this distinction. Earl Spencer has never resigned; neither has Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Neither has ever despaired of his party, much less sacrificed its interests to personal feelings. Either would be willing to make way for the other in the interest of the party or of the country.

### WHAT THE LIBERAL LEADER SHOULD BE.

It has been said that the leader of the Liberal party is the man who leads the opposition in the House of Commons. The party believes that the premier should sit in the lower chamber.

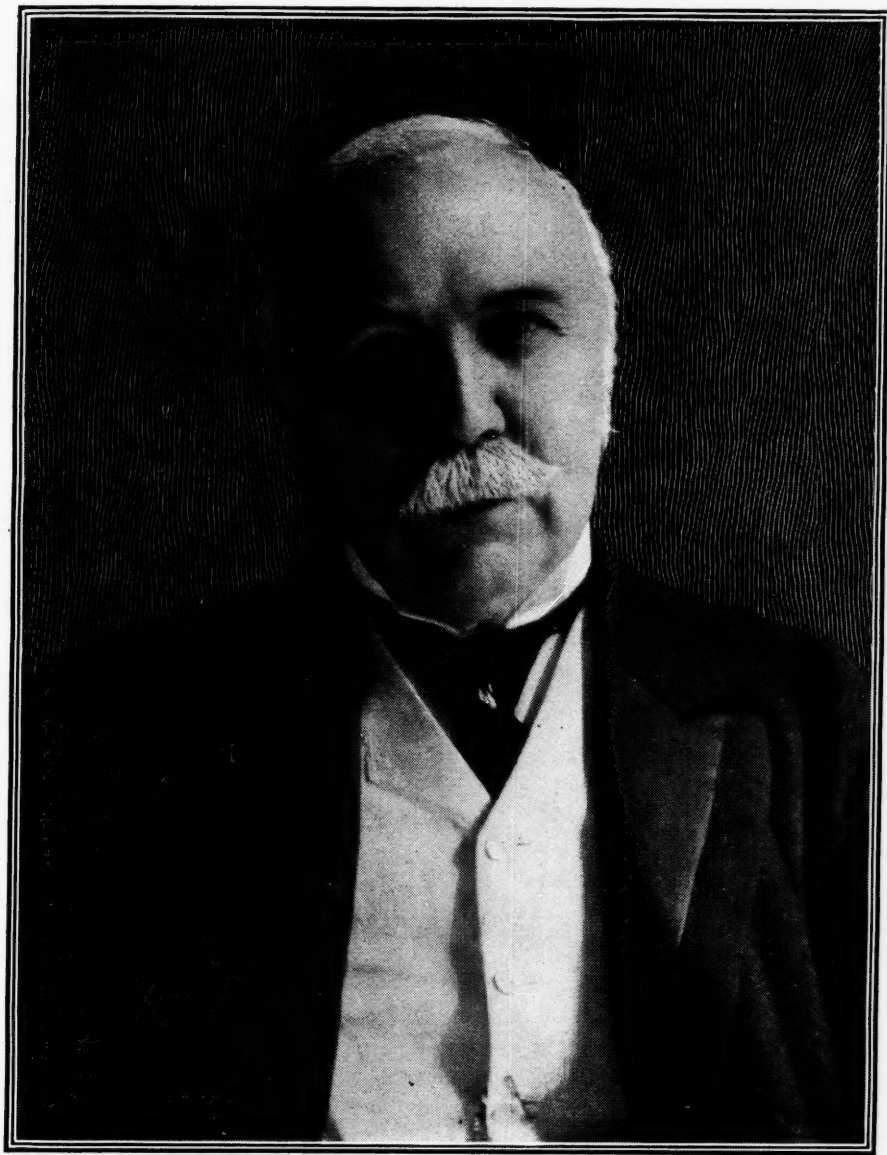
In the case of "C.-B.," there is also a sense of personal gratitude. When Lord Rosebery flung away the leadership of the party, the burden fell upon Sir Henry's shoulders,—a burden which Earl Spencer, from his position in the House of Lords, could not bear. By universal consent, "C.-B." has done his very best, and that with no small measure of success, to keep his party together, and he has maintained a gallant, persistent fight against the enemy. Mr. Chamberlain, who is no mean judge of the qualities of a first-rate fighting man, has always declared that Sir Henry C.-B. is the only fighting leader the Liberals possess. In his opinion, there ought to be no questioning "C.-B.'s" right to the premiership. Further, the prime ministry of Sir Henry would have a very beneficial effect on the relations of the empire to South Africa. The majority of the Afrikaner electorate recognize in him the best friend and the stoutest champion they possess among the Liberals.

On the other hand, there are some very weighty reasons in favor of Earl Spencer as premier. Mr. Gladstone always believed that the next Liberal premiership after his own should be headed by Earl Spencer. There is also much to be said in favor of a peer-premier, because it is practically impossible for any man—with the possible exception of such a Hercules as Gladstone—to unite successfully the functions of premier and leader in the House of Commons. It is true that Mr. Balfour is both prime minister and leader in the House of Commons, but Mr. Balfour has permitted things to go by default, and no Liberal leader would be permitted to shirk and shuffle as Mr. Balfour has done. Earl Spencer would offend nobody. He is *persona grata* at court, and no doubt the Liberal Leaguers would find it easier to accept office under Earl Spencer than under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. And, lastly, Earl Spencer is an Englishman, and no doubt many good Englishmen think that what with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Rosebery the Scotch would have no reason to complain if the Liberals, for the first time in forty years, should prefer an Englishman to a Scot as their prime minister.

### QUALIFICATIONS OF EARL SPENCER.

Earl Spencer is a typical English gentleman, by heredity, by training, and by achievement





SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

marked out for a high position. J. Poyntz Spencer, Fifth Earl, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councilor, D.C.L., LL.D., Baron Spencer, Viscount Althorp, Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire since 1872, and Keeper of the Privy Seal of the Duke of Cornwall since 1901, is an English grandee of the first rank. He owns about twenty-seven thousand acres of land, part in London and part in Northamptonshire. In

his seventieth year, he is the leader of the handful of Liberal peers who still survive in the House of Lords.

Earl Spencer is no orator. It is said that his speeches are dull and dreary. But his political gifts and capacity for work are unlimited. He entered the administration in 1868, under Mr. Gladstone. In that year, when only thirty-three, he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, hold-

ing the post until 1874, when the Gladstone ministry fell. In the second Gladstone cabinet, Earl Spencer was minister of agriculture and lord president of the council. It was in this ministry that his qualities of grit, courage, and administration were proved. The entire government of Ireland was thrown into his hands on the retirement of Mr. Forster and the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. It was a terrible time,—the land was demoralized and in mutiny. But (in the words of Mr. Morley's "Gladstone") "the new viceroy attacked the formidable task before him with resolution, minute assiduity, and an inexhaustible store of that steady-eyed patience which is the sovereign requisite of any man who, whether with coercion or without, takes in hand the government of Ireland." Earl Spencer was threatened with assassination and subjected to endless insult, but for three terrible years he stood his ground and never lost his temper or nerve. In 1892, Mr. Gladstone sent Earl Spencer to the admiralty. This, although a good appointment, led indirectly to Mr. Gladstone's retirement, when Earl Spencer insisted upon strengthening the navy, and, although his naval programme was approved by a majority of the cabinet, nothing could reconcile Mr. Gladstone to what appeared to him a monstrous and unnecessary expenditure of public money in provocative armaments. Mr. Gladstone's large-mindedness, however, was illustrated by the fact, that notwithstanding his disapproval and the success of the programme, upon his retirement he submitted Earl Spencer's name to the Queen as his successor in the premiership. When Lord Rosebery became premier, Earl Spencer cheerfully continued to serve on the admiralty, and at the Liberal *débâcle* the "Red Earl" never swerved. He remained at his post, and England, which expects every man to do his duty, has never been disappointed in Earl Spencer.

#### "C. B." AND HIS FINE RECORD.

Even if Earl Spencer should become premier, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman will be one of the most important members of the new cabinet. "C. B." is a year younger than Earl Spencer. He was originally plain Henry Campbell, but when his maternal uncle, Henry Bannerman, died, he assumed the second name, and, quite late in his career,—in 1895, and twenty-seven years after he first entered the House of Commons,—the baronetcy came.

"C. B." has led the House of Commons since February, 1899. He stepped into the breach when other men deserted it, and has done his duty manfully and well under circumstances of great difficulty. He is a very cautious man,—a

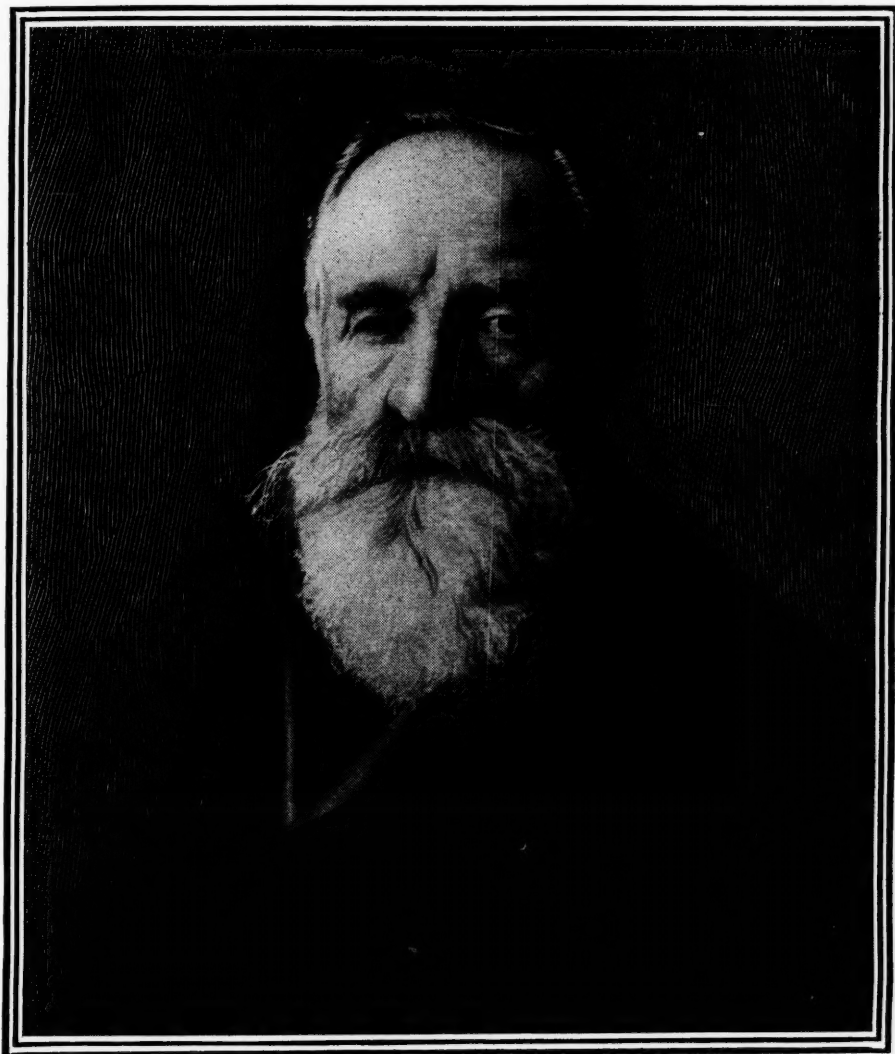
canny Scot. He refrained all through the war from praising the Boers, fearing lest one word of eulogy might lead them to prolong the war. He took, also, every opportunity to assert himself with Mr. Morley in repudiating any intention of restoring the independence of the South African republics. "I have publicly stated that the annexation must, in my opinion, be upheld." But this was to be only on condition that the new subjects were to be admitted to all the rights and privileges of British self-governing colonists. "C. B." is a shrewd man, full of *bonhomie*, and possessing no small fund of natural eloquence.

He does not write articles or books. He makes speeches, and uncommonly good speeches they are. Good-tempered, genial, humorous, and incisive, he has never had justice done him. In mere forensic tourney, Mr. Asquith may be his superior. But there is no blood, or heart, or soul, in Mr. Asquith's speeches. Cold himself, he never excites a generous warmth of passion or enthusiasm among his hearers. Sir Henry is much more human. If it cannot be said of him that he can "wield at will the fierce democracy," he has undoubtedly a great faculty of effective public speech, effective alike in Parliament and on the platform.

That both these leaders are, heart and soul, in favor of the Anglo-American *entente cordiale* goes without saying. They do not favor the policy so dear to the British Jingo mind of converting the Dominion of Canada into an ironclad fighting unit in the armed forces of the empire. All the schemes for fostering the growth of militarism in Canada are by them detested and abhorred. Moreover, whether Lord Spencer be premier or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Bryce will be a prominent member of the cabinet, and Mr. Bryce is as sympathetic an American as if he had been born in New England.

#### WINSTON CHURCHILL IN THE COMMONS.

After the premier, Mr. Winston Churchill will, perhaps, be the leader in the Commons. While the matrimonial alliances between American women and British politicians have not often resulted in large or brilliant families, there is one brilliant exception. Miss Jerome, who married Randolph Churchill, has not a large family, but her son, Winston, has done much to gratify British-American intermarriages. For Winston Churchill, who is an American on his mother's side, is the most conspicuous and most promising of the younger politicians in Great Britain. Whether he will ever lead the House of Commons is an open question. But if he does, he will owe it quite as much to his American mother as to his aristocrat father.



EARL SPENCER.

Miss Jennie Jerome, who became Lady Randolph Churchill, and who is now Mrs. Cornwallis-West, is by universal admission one of the cleverest and most influential women in Britain. She is credited with having suggested to her husband the formation of the Primrose League, the most successful of all modern political organizations in England. She is only one of its vice-presidents, but she was its inspiring voice. Many of its most successful features were Yankee dodges which proved mightily successful when transplanted to British soil. She was a power in English society during her husband's

lifetime. She has been still more conspicuous and influential since his death. She can organize, intrigue, edit, and train. She no longer edits the sumptuous *Anglo-Saxon Review*, but she contributes to periodical literature and devotes herself to the task of promoting the fortunes of her son. "Winston," an irate Tory recently remarked,—“there's nothing in Winston. But he's got some of the cleverest women in England at his back. That's the real secret of his success.” That is not the whole truth, for “Winston” has proved his capacity in regions where his mother's care could not stand him in

any stead. But he undoubtedly owes much to the American strain which comes from her. He has inherited a full measure of American snap. He is a hustler of the first class. He is as "pushing" as a New England canvasser, and his "American ways" are often referred to with intense disgust by the rivals whom he has passed in the race. "I never see him," said a conservative M.P., the other day, "but I think of a Chicago newsboy." He certainly means to make things hum. He is constantly on the alert. In the House and in the country, he is never silent.

"THE CENTER OF THE BRITISH POLITICAL ARENA."

To-day, Winston Churchill is the center of the British political arena. He is the most conspicuous, and in many respects the ablest, of British rising statesmen. He has gone from the Unionist to the Liberal benches in the House of Commons, and it is safe to predict that in the near future he will be Liberal leader in the House. Speaking of his career, and particularly of his military adventures, Lord Dufferin once remarked, "On every occasion he has shown that chivalrous courage which becomes a high-minded gentleman, and, what is equally important, that capacity, that skill, and that resource that bear testimony to his intellectual ability."

Mr. Winston Churchill is audacity incarnate. He will dare, and never cease to dare. In this he is the true son of his father. Both the Churchills entered Parliament at the same age. To be an M.P. at twenty-five and a prospective party leader at thirty is a lot which has fallen to them, and to them only, in our generation.

Winston Churchill's grandfather was the seventh Duke of Marlborough, at one time lord lieutenant of Ireland in a Tory administration. The present Churchill was born in 1874. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, Winston finished at Sandhurst, with honors, in 1894. The next year he was appointed lieutenant in the Fourth Hussars. Soon, however, he obtained leave to visit Cuba, which was then in the throes of her ten years' war with Spain. His father had been correspondent for the *Daily Graphic* in South Africa; the son was special correspondent for the same journal in Cuba. He saw service under Martinez Campos, and was decorated for his bravery. No sooner had he reached home than his regiment was ordered to India. All through the frontier war in Malakand he fought with the Thirty-first Punjab Infantry and wrote for the *Daily Telegraph*. For his valor he was again decorated. When he returned to London he immediately joined the force of General Kitchener for the reconquest of Khartum, all the time acting as corre-

spondent for the *Morning Post*. His stay with Kitchener was full of adventure, and he was in the march from Atbara to Khartum, and in the battle of Omdurman, which he described as an eye-witness. In his book, "The River War," he told the story of the conquest of the Sudan, and in his dispatches to the *Morning Post* he criticised the work of his commander-in-chief so daringly and so truly that his political reputation was made. He, however, soon concluded that he could be more useful out of the service.

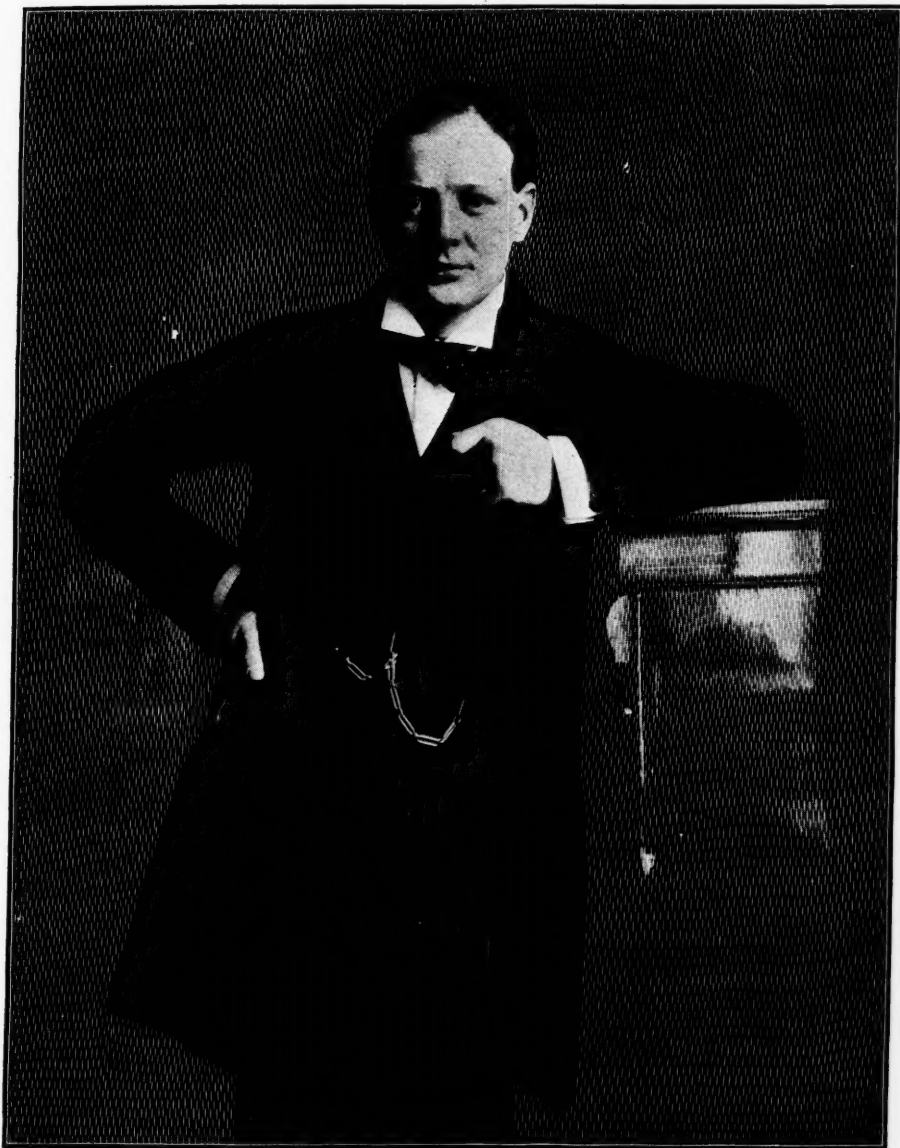
It was not until the Boer war, however, that Winston Churchill rose to the first rank of war correspondents. He was the luckiest and smartest, and certainly the most picturesque, personality of all the newspaper writers during that conflict. He was taken prisoner in the early part of the war, escaped, and told all about it in his news letters home. His correspondence marked him as a man of distinction,—a man who was not merely a keen observer and a brilliant writer, but who had the political instinct in his blood. At first he was certain that the Boers, considering their courage and the strength of their religious conviction, would surely win, and it was some time, he says, before he could believe in a British triumph. In March, 1900, he published, in the *Morning Post*, his famous appeal for dealing with the Boers in a reasonable spirit of conciliation.

A GREAT FUTURE PREDICTED FOR HIM.

Mr. Churchill entered Parliament as a Tory Democrat, and a Tory Democrat he remains to this day, although he sits on the Liberal benches. Toryism, however, as interpreted by the Churchills, is often almost indistinguishable from Radicalism as interpreted by men like John Burns who have the historical insight and a keen sympathy with the traditional glories of their country. He gave Parliament a taste of his quality in his scathing analysis of Mr. Brodrick's new army scheme, in May, 1901, and was the only Unionist who voted against it. Of his speech on that occasion, Mr. Massingham, whose "Pictures in Parliament" are perhaps the best contemporary chronicle of proceedings at Westminster, said:

Its threads were not, of course, woven with the skill that comes of long practice, and here and there were missing stitches. But in its elevation of purpose, its broad conception of national policy, and in the direct movement of its closing sentences, I recall nothing like it since Mr. Gladstone died. I will make two criticisms upon it,—the first is, that it is the speech that should long ago have been delivered from our own benches; the second is, that in the years to come its author should be prime minister,—I hope Liberal prime minister,—of England.





MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.

Always a Conservative, Mr. Churchill is still a free-trader, and in this fact is to be found the cause of his desertion of the Unionist ranks. He could not remain a Jingo and a militarist, so he becomes a supporter of the Liberals. His first serious administrative speeches were made against financial expenditure and the policy of protection. His first field for retrenchment is in the army, he upholds, but he is unalterably opposed to the attempt to convert England to a military power.

There are two other questions upon which he differs from the old Conservative forces,—he has Radical ideas on the Irish question and on education; he is against the National Education Act. It may be said that he is a born demagogue. Perhaps he is; but this young man, demagogue though he may be, before he is thirty, has already won the ear and aroused the enthusiasm of the great majority of his countrymen.



SOME REPRESENTATIVE SPANISH PUBLICATIONS.

## WHAT THE PEOPLE READ IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

**D**URING the past decade there has been remarkable progress in Spanish periodical literature. Spanish journalism was late in taking its place among the cosmopolitan forces of Europe, but one Spanish journal, the *Gaceta de Madrid* (Madrid Gazette), founded in 1661, the first organ of the government, has survived the vicissitudes of two centuries and a half. It is to-day the official organ of the government.

There are a few dignified and serious monthly magazines published in Spain, one of which, *España Moderna* (Modern Spain), occupies the same position in the estimation of Spaniards as the *Revue des Deux Mondes* does in France, or any of the heavier quarterlies or fortnightlies in England. *España Moderna* is edited by J. Lázaro, a well-known literary man. It consists of literary, political, and scientific review articles, largely contributed by university professors, statesmen, and politicians, with a regular literary chronicle and a review of periodicals. Considerable attention is given to Spanish-American conditions and writers. This review is in its sixteenth year. Another serious review of less pretensions than *España Moderna* is the *Revista*

*Contemporánea*, owned and edited by José de Cardenas, a member of the Senate. The *Revista Contemporánea* is in its thirtieth year. Then there is, in Madrid, *Nuestro Tiempo* (Our Time), a monthly of general character. In the second city of the kingdom, Barcelona, which is the chief center of commerce, there is a very elegantly printed monthly entitled *Mercurio* (Mercury). It compares favorably with the best commercial monthlies of the world. In Barcelona, also, there is published a popular illustrated monthly magazine, entitled *Hojas Selección* (Selected Leaves).

The leading weekly of Spain is the *Ilustración Española y Americana* (Spanish and American Illustrated Weekly), which compares favorably with illustrated weeklies in France, Germany, and England. It calls itself a review of literature, art, and news. The same house issues a beautiful annual almanac, very artistically printed and illustrated, and also a ladies' weekly fashion journal, the *Moda Elegante* (Fashions for the Ladies). The *Nuevo Mundo* (New World) is another illustrated weekly of the capital, but not so well printed as the *Ilustración*. It gives

much attention to the theater and music. The third notable general weekly of Madrid is *Blanco y Negro* (White and Black), which aims to be to the Spanish capital what *Black and White* is to London. It does some excellent work in color-printing. There are a number of cartoon weeklies in Madrid, notable among these being *Don Quixote*, perhaps the cleverest; the *Gédéon* (Gideon), and the *Gata Negro* (Black Cat). In Barcelona there is a famous cartoon journal, *Barcelona Comica* (Barcelona Funny Paper).

Madrid's most representative and informational daily is the *Época* (Epoch), which is the organ of the Liberal-Conservative party. It is more than fifty years old, and is now owned and edited by the Marqués de Valdeiglesias. It is the paper of fashionable society. The *Gaceta* is the official government organ, as has been said. The *Heraldo* (Herald) is, perhaps, the most enterprising, clever, and best edited of Madrid dailies. It resembles a Paris newspaper. The *Imparcial* (Impartial) is a very influential and perhaps the best-established daily of the capital. In its general hold upon the conservative classes, it resembles the New York *Herald*. It has a proved circulation of 140,000, and is edited by Señor Gasset, who was until recently minister of agriculture and public works. Some years ago, when the special Monday literary supplement of the *Imparcial*, known as the *Lunes* (Monday), was in the height of its success, it was conducted by a famous literary Spaniard, Fernandez Florez, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Fernan Flor." A difference with the management resulted in this writer leaving the *Imparcial*, and founding what is now one of the most famous Spanish dailies, the *Liberal*. This daily is published simultaneously in five cities,—Madrid, Barcelona, Murcia, Seville, and Bilbao. It is owned by a stock company, which has the finest newspaper building in Madrid. In fact, the *Liberal* is the only Spanish daily which has a building all to itself. It is Republican-Conservative in policy. The *Correspondencia de España* (Correspondence of Spain) is the oldest of the newspapers of the capital. It is bright and gossipy, and is affectionately and familiarly known as "the night-cap of the Madrileños,"—because every respectable citizen of the Spanish capital reads the *Correspondencia* before going to bed; in much the same way, perhaps, as Mr. Gladstone's "breakfast" was said to have been a cup of coffee and the *Times*. The *Correo* (Mail), also of the capital, is a very influential journal. Its former editor, Ferreras (who died a year or so ago), was considered the foremost journalist of Madrid. He had a genius for phraseology, and one of his sarcastic remarks was known to

overthrow a ministry. In the capital, also, there is a religious daily, the *Siglo Futuro* (Future Century), which is the organ of the Ultramontane party, and of great influence. It usually supports the Carlists. Its editor, Señor Nocedal, is a Deputy to the Cortes. There is also a Socialist party paper published in Madrid under the title of *Los Dominicales* (Sunday Reading).



SEÑOR D. JUAN PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN.

(Señor de Guzman was, until a year or so ago, political editor of the *Época*. He is now a contributing editor of the *Ilustración, Española y Americana*, and the *España Moderna*, and is also editor of the year books of the *Gaceta* of Madrid and one of the best-known Spanish journalists.)

The most influential provincial journals are published in Barcelona. Chief among these are the *Diario* (Daily Newspaper), which is over a century old, and still appears, as did all the early European newspapers, in the form of a book of sixty, eighty, or even one hundred pages. In Valencia there is the *Mercantil Valenciano* (Valencia Merchant), a well-edited, influential

sheet; and in Cadiz the *Diario de Cadiz*, a newsy and interesting publication.

It is interesting to note the fact that the *Noticias* (News), the Spanish newspaper published in New York City, which is over thirty years old, is now supplied by the Government to the West Point Academy as part of the instruction in Spanish to the cadets.

#### THE PORTUGUESE PERIODICAL PRESS.

The Portuguese can boast of an illustrious past in intellectual effort, and the educated classes to-day are as much devoted to literature as those in any other European country. The present state of education in the kingdom, however, is very low, and the general poverty of the people is such that periodical publishing does not flourish. Of course, by far the greater number of periodicals appear in the capital, Lisbon, although a few important ones are published in the second city of the kingdom, Oporto.

Among the fortnightly and monthly periodicals and reviews, perhaps the most important is the *Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro* (Railway Gazette), published in Lisbon by Senhor L. de

Mendonça e Costa. Perhaps the most influential and important of the fortnightlies is the *Arte e Natureza* (Art and Nature), published in Oporto. This is a very fine publication typographically, illustrated from excellent photographs, and giving much attention to Portuguese scenery. Among the weeklies are the *Ilustração Portuguesa* (Portugal Illustrated) and *Occidente* (Occident), both Lisbon illustrated weeklies. Then there is the *Parodia* (Parody) and the *Supplemento de Seculo* (Supplement to the Seculo), comic journals, illustrated by famous cartoonists. There is another popular illustrated cartoon weekly published in the capital, known as the *Pimpão*. The two news weeklies are the *Correio da Europa* (European Post) and *Mala da Europa* (European Mail), illustrated, and intended chiefly for circulation in Brazil.

Perhaps the most influential and best known of Portuguese dailies is *O Commercio do Porto* (The Oporto Commercial). It may be interesting to note, in passing, that the Portuguese article is O, and that the town we know as Oporto is simply the Portuguese, The Port (O Porto). The *Commercio do Porto* is a morning journal, made up on the same general plans as the French and Spanish dailies. It is a serious and well-edited commercial and general news periodical, not particularly well printed, but its service of commercial news from all over the world is regarded as reliable. Altogether there are eight dailies in Oporto, which is the chief commercial town of the empire. After the *Commercio*, the most important Oporto dailies are the *Primeiro de Janeiro* (First of January), with a large circulation in the north of the kingdom, and the *Jornal de Noticias* (News Journal), which resembles the *Primeiro* somewhat. In Lisbon there are eighteen daily journals, and ninety periodicals published at longer intervals. The *Seculo*

(Century), has the largest circulation of any paper in the kingdom. It is well informed, and has reliable foreign telegraphic and home news. While it is generally thought to have a tendency to exaggeration, it is regarded as of great influence. The *Seculo* is twenty-four years old, and it has a weekly edition, under the same title, published for the Portuguese colonies in Brazil. This concern also publishes the *Supplemento do Seculo* and the *Ilustração Portuguesa* already mentioned. The *Novidades* (News) is an evening daily of Lisbon. Its contents are generally political in character, and its news service is comprehensive. The *Novidades* is twenty-one years old, and has considerable influence. The

*Popular* is another influential and successful daily of the capital. It makes a specialty of financial news, and its editor and owner, Senhor Marianno de Carvalho, is an ex-minister of finance. The *Diario de Noticias* (Daily News) is very popular and influential. It is the principal advertising medium in the kingdom. It is over forty years old. The *Açoriano*



SENHOR ALFREDO DA CEMHA.

(Senhor da Cemha is a well-known poet and journalist, and one of the editors of the *Diario de Noticias* of Lisbon.)

*Oriental* (Western Azorian) is the oldest paper of the kingdom, and is at present kept up more as a tradition than for its value as a newspaper. The only labor journal, the *Lavrador* (Agriculturist), is published by the *Commercio do Porto* and distributed gratis.



A FEW OF THE BEST-KNOWN PORTUGUESE PERIODICALS.



# THE LABOR QUESTION'S NEWER ASPECTS.

BY VICTOR S. YARROS.

SOME twelve or fifteen years ago, labor leaders and clear-sighted observers of the industrial movement had a good deal to say regarding alleged radical changes in the nature and aims of the masses of organized wage-workers. The phrase, "the new unionism," was then current and familiar, especially in Great Britain.

The changes that have taken place in the last ten years in the world of labor and capital, and in their mutual relations, are more important and graver than those comprehended by the phrase, "the new unionism." The superficial may think of the French saying to the effect that "the more it changes the more it is the same thing." Strikes, lockouts, boycotting, blacklisting, "picketing," disorder or charges of disorder (we have to reckon with a sensational press which would rather be newsy than truthful), are still with us, but this does not mean that the industrial conflict presents the same aspect to thoughtful men that it presented a decade ago.

Theoretically, it is true, American trade-unionism has not materially modified its objects and ideals. In England, a series of judicial decisions, inspired by public opinion rather than dictated by the logic of the law, has "driven labor into politics," to use the union formula. There is now a labor group in Parliament which is more influential than its numerical strength might lead one to infer, and the tendency to nominate independent labor candidates is growing more and more pronounced. In the United States, political action, save in an indirect way, is not in favor in union circles, and the "labor vote" is not regarded by practical politicians as a formidable factor.

The labor movement in America, then, has remained purely industrial. It is neither political nor consciously revolutionary. It has no quarrel with the existing order. The head of this or that organization may declare himself a Socialist (President Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, for example), but the most representative leaders, as well as the overwhelming majority of the members of the unions, are conservative in their thought upon social problems. "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work" is still the watchword of our labor organizations.

It is in what may be called the "middle prin-

ciples" that time and tide have effected the changes in question. Men still strike against reductions (witness the recent struggle in the cotton mills of Fall River) or for advances in wages, but such strikes are not characteristic of the period. They involve no new issues, though such issues exist. The new issues are not always raised explicitly or recognized frankly; not a few of the stubbornly fought strikes, indeed, have had other causes than those avowed by the parties.

## THE ISSUE OF THE CLOSED SHOP.

Of the "new" issues, that which has received the maximum of attention and been productive of the greatest bitterness and ill-will is, undoubtedly, the closed shop *versus* the open one. The *thing* is not new; the controversy over it is, however, a recent development. In many industries, closed-shop contracts have lately been entered into or renewed as a matter of course. The publishers of the daily newspapers maintain "closed shops" as a rule, and it is notorious that the builders and contractors of New York have actually, on expediency grounds, defended against vigorous assault this much-denounced arrangement. It is apparent, however, that most of the employers' associations organized in late years have determined to make systematic war on the closed shop. As the dispute is great and momentous, it requires unprejudiced and dispassionate treatment.

To begin with, as Miss Jane Addams, head of Hull House, has pointed out, the term, if not positively unfair, is unfortunate. It is an appeal to sentiment, not to right reason. The closed shop is the union shop or the contract shop, for it is bottomed on a contract between the employer and the union authorized to speak for his employees. If any closed shop rests, not on a voluntary agreement prompted by mutual advantage, but on duress, threats, or force, the intelligent student will readily distinguish the end from the means adopted to secure it. Freed from all accidental and gratuitous complications, what is the closed-shop issue?

## ADVANTAGES TO THE EMPLOYER.

It has two sides,—one legal, the other economic and practical. The latter is simple. A well-organized union offers to supply all the labor that an employer needs in a certain line. It

proposes a contract covering wages, hours, etc., and prescribing a certain form of discipline. It is based on the principle of collective bargaining and, as a necessary corollary, collective responsibility. The union is supposed to guarantee efficient and good work on the part of the employees. It cannot assume responsibility for outsiders, having no control over them. It asserts that a shop cannot be half union and half non-union, and therefore it asks the employer who is willing to recognize the union at all (and, with it, the principle of "collective bargaining") to agree to employ none but union labor. The union shop, in other words, is to be closed to non-union workmen, not only in the interest of the contracting employees, but also in the interest of the "party of the second part," the employer.

Of course, if the employer can see no advantage in the proposed arrangement, there is nothing further to be said on the practical side. It is assumed that he is what the classical economist calls "an economic man," who is governed in business dealings neither by sympathies nor by antipathies, but by self-interest. Where the union shop does not insure better work, more orderly and harmonious conditions, friendlier relations and increased profit, it has no *raison d'être*. If, then, as a matter of fact, the closed shop offers employers no inducements, its days are numbered.

#### IS THE CLOSED SHOP "UN-AMERICAN?"

But the determined opposition to the closed shop of late manifested is not attributable to considerations of this kind. Professedly, the opposition is legal, moral, social. The objections alleged are not connected with profit and loss. They are of a "higher order." The various employers' associations have taken the position that the union shop is a bad, vicious, un-American institution, an institution repugnant to our political system and constitutional ideals. This was the argument employed by President Parry, of the national association of manufacturers; this was the reason assigned by the association of clothing manufacturers for repudiating the closed shop (without, however, affecting existing conditions in the industry) and risking a great strike, —which, by the way, has been ordered, unsuccessfully maintained, and finally called off. The Clothing Manufacturers' Association, in a formal declaration of principles, spoke of the closed shop as follows:

The closed shop is an un-American institution. The right of every man to sell his labor as he sees fit, and the freedom of every employer to hire such labor, are given by the laws of the land, and may not be affected

by affiliation or non-affiliation with any organization whatever.

The Citizens' Industrial Alliance of America, emphatically reiterated, in the resolutions adopted at the December convention in New York, its firm belief in the open shop, which was declared to be a corollary from the "right to work" and the principle of fair dealing and free contract. "Demanding only good faith," the resolutions ran, "it [the Alliance] discriminates against neither union nor independent [non-union] labor."

The inference from these deductions is obvious. Even if the closed shop were in every way advantageous to employers, it would be their patriotic duty to sacrifice the benefit for the sake of liberty and equality of opportunity.

#### THE ARGUMENT OF THE UNIONS.

But is the closed shop inconsistent with liberty and equal opportunity? The unions ridicule the suggestion, and not a few able lawyers and sociologists sympathize with them. Their argument may be indicated very briefly, thus:

The right of every man to sell his labor as he sees fit is exactly the right on which the closed shop is based. The right to work and to contract for work includes the right to refuse to work except under certain conditions, and the non-employment of certain classes of labor may very well be one of these conditions. The right of the non-union man is not infringed upon when the unionist merely refuses to work beside him, or when he asks the employer to choose between them. As to the employer, he has a right to hire any one he pleases, and he may discriminate at will against union or non-union labor. Indeed, he lays great stress upon this right, and should he desire to make an exclusive contract with a union, what is to prevent such preference?

#### A CHICAGO JUDGE DECIDES AGAINST THE CLOSED SHOP.

Certain courts—not of the last resort, however—have recently ruled against the legality of closed-shop contracts. The decision of the Cook County (Ill.) Appellate Court has attracted considerable attention, the employers' associations of the county having circulated it with much energy. The opinion in the case was written by a learned and respected judge, but several lawyers of note have not hesitated to pronounce it gratuitous and fallacious.

Judge Francis Adams, referring to closed-shop agreements which certain strikers sought to enforce, said: "The agreements in question, if executed, would tend to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the different unions,

to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions, and are in this respect unlawful. Contracts tending to create a monopoly are void."

This ruling, in the opinion of able lawyers, is open to several serious objections. In the first place, it is not, and never has been, the law that *all* contracts tending to create a monopoly are unlawful. The common law distinguishes between contracts or combinations which reasonably or partially restrain trade and contracts which establish oppressive and complete monopolies. To say that all closed-shop agreements constitute unreasonable restraint of trade is clearly absurd. The question is not so much whether the shop is open as it is whether the union is. Under certain circumstances, a closed-shop agreement may actually create a monopoly; in many cases no monopoly results, and even the alleged "tendency" to monopoly is merely theoretical.

Furthermore, any contract "tends" to create a monopoly. Indeed, partial monopoly is the object of every contract. What you give to A you cannot give to B. A manufacturer may contract to purchase all his steel from the United States Steel Corporation; that would tend to create monopoly, but who seriously contends that such a contract would be held unlawful? If you are a building contractor and agree to give all your orders for brick to a particular firm, no one will accuse you of doing something wrong, reprehensible, un-American. What is true of raw material, machinery, tools, etc., must be true of labor. A union may undertake to supply labor as a manufacturer undertakes to supply goods, and an exclusive contract with the one cannot be more objectionable than a similar agreement with the other.

#### A COUNTER DECISION.

Nor does this view lack high judicial countenance. Indeed, the remarkable opinion of Justice Jenks, of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court for the Brooklyn department, in the case of certain non-union employees of the United States Printing Company *versus* the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, goes very far to sustain it, along with other important contentions boldly advanced by labor leaders. The case involved the questions of peaceful picketing and boycotting, of a concerted strike ordered with the view of securing the discharge of non-union men, and of the enforcement of a closed-shop contract. Modifying materially an injunction obtained in the lower court, the Appellate Division, speaking through Justice Jenks, said:

The discharges in this case are the result of the agreement between the printing company and the union. It is clear enough that the company made this agreement in order to end the strike and the boycott. Thus, the defendants secured the exclusive employment of their members, an adjustment of wages, and a determination of the working hours. If the defendants had the right to refuse to work for the printing company until their demands were met, I cannot see why they could not agree that they would work only under conditions which represented a concession of such demands. If the employer preferred to have these workmen work for him on the conditions that he should employ none but their fellows, increase their wages, and settle the hours of labor than to have them strike and organize a boycott, I cannot see why in the exercise of its right to regulate its own affairs it [the company] could not follow this course and make the agreement.

Since, the court continued, an employer may engage whomsoever he chooses, and the employee may work for whom he chooses, and if under the influence of purely economic interests a contract for the exclusive employment of union labor is entered into, how can an outsider,—say, a non-union man adversely affected by this contract,—interfere with the performance thereof? Has he a vested right in his place? Can he dictate either to the employer or to the union demanding the closed shop as a condition of accepting employment?

When courts disagree on issues so vital, how can we expect laymen to attach much weight to decisions running counter, not only to their fixed beliefs, but to their substantial interests as they see them?

#### "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING" AS AN ECONOMIC PRINCIPLE.

Without usurping the function of the highest courts, which in the course of time will review the whole question in all its bearings, the opinion may be hazarded that, after all, economic, not legal, considerations will decide this great controversy. What has been witnessed in the case of industrial trusts or combinations will be witnessed in the case of labor organizations.

Among enlightened employers and corporations the opposition to collective bargaining is vanishing. The reaction against unionism that has been so marked a feature of the past year or two (especially in Chicago and other Western centers) has not affected this principle,—at least, so far as the older and more conservative unions are concerned. Even Mr. Parry, in one of his addresses to the manufacturers, expressly indorsed the principle of collective bargaining, and collective bargaining may, where labor is thoroughly organized and morally if not legally "responsible," regularize and preserve the union shop.

It should be noted, as a fact of no little significance, that at the Chicago meeting of the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association (held late in December), a spirited discussion of the "Open or Closed Shop?" question developed a very pronounced leaning on the part of our scholars and scientific inquirers toward the union attitude. Of the nine speakers, two—and both employers—attacked the union shop as industrially detrimental; one, a labor official, defended it as essential to employees without involving the least injury to employers, and six,—all professors and eminent writers on politico-economic subjects,—saw in it a necessary measure of defense and amelioration under existing industrial conditions.

#### THE SOLIDARITY OF UNIONISM.

In view of circumstances like these, it is not surprising that organized labor should exhibit a determination equal to that of the majority of the employers' associations in fighting to maintain the union shop. The San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, while expressing in sundry ways opposition to Socialistic doctrines and reaffirming its faith in trade-unionism pure and simple, made it perfectly plain that there was no intention of taking a single step, however short, in the direction pointed to by the organized employers. Mr. Samuel Gompers was re-elected president without opposition, and all his recommendations and policies were emphatically indorsed. In the words of the New York *Sun*, "Under the leadership of Mr. Gompers, unionism will doubtless continue to stand for the union shop, for the use of the union label, and for the maintenance of the boycott."

I may add, that the Central Federated Union of New York has appointed a committee of ten to assist the open-shop crusade; that the New York cap-makers recently struck against a score of firms that had adopted the open-shop plan, and that the Carriage and Wagon Makers' International Union, numbering forty thousand men, has announced its intention of demanding the closed shop in all factories now "open."

#### A FRENCH ECONOMIST'S SOLUTION.

Since individualism—the principle of personal liberty and equal opportunity—has been so eloquently and freely invoked by the opponents of the closed shop, it is interesting as well as instructive to call attention here to the remarkable book of M. Yves Guyot, ex-minister of the French Republic, economist and individualist of the "Manchester" school, and clear-headed thinker. The title of the work is "*Les Conflits du Tra-*

*vail et leur Solution*," and in it the author puts forward a plan for doing away with the war between capital and labor. M. Guyot has no faith in the ordinary methods of trade-unions, and arbitration he regards as a crude and unscientific remedy, a makeshift which sagacious men of affairs are bound to repudiate.

To give M. Guyot's own solution in a few words, it consists in setting up labor exchanges, in making the existing unions contractors—sellers of labor. The employer is no longer a "master;" let him also cease to be a "patron." At present, owing to a false conception of the proper relation between capital and labor, the employer thinks that by paying wages he buys labor. Among free men wages buy, not labor, but the results of labor. Why, asks M. Guyot, should not the unions enter into contracts to sell to employers, *wholesale*, the results of a certain amount of labor? Raw material is bought wholesale, labor is bought at retail, and this being an unbusinesslike, antiquated arrangement, it naturally produces friction and trouble. Employers should contract for so much finished work, and the unions should undertake to do certain work for a definite price and divide the income. The workmen should combine in joint-stock societies to produce and deliver such and such goods. Employers would then go to union headquarters for labor, or the results of labor, as they go for raw materials and machinery to those who supply them.

M. Guyot endeavors to show that this plan would do away with strikes, restriction of outputs, lockouts, etc.; but the point of interest in this connection is that it frankly accepts the exclusive-contract idea, the union shop in a modified form. And this proposal comes from a staunch individualist who is opposed to all paternalism, all oppression, all injustice! The dictum that the open shop is the corollary of individualism and freedom is thus open to serious doubt.

#### OTHER PHASES OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

But while the open-shop issue has of late overshadowed other cardinal questions, the latter have not lost their importance. Among these may be named:

The sympathetic strike.

Boycotting, in its abuse if not in its use.

Contract-breaking and general charges of lack of capacity, practical sense, and responsibility in union leaders.

Corruption and blackmail,—offenses that, to whatever extent they actually exist, are infinitely more injurious to the unions than to the employers victimized.



The employers' associations and citizens' alliances have been organized, ostensibly at any rate, to combat, not unionism, but the evils enumerated. Labor leaders retort that employers are guilty of all the practices of which they accuse the other side. There are sympathetic strikes of employers as well as of workmen; blacklisting is merely another name for boycotting, and it is defended (even by some courts) precisely as Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell have defended "limited boycotting." Contract-breaking is by no means the monopoly of unions, and the labor movement is no more to be condemned on account of the ill-considered action of raw and inexperienced men than the business world is to be condemned on account of the endless litigation arising from default, violation of agreements, and sharp practice in business transactions. There is "grafting" in the unions; is there none in business and in public employment?

It is felt, however, by the truest friends of labor, that the leadership and management of the unions call for greater ability and wisdom than is often displayed. Miss Jane Addams has been warning unions of the danger of corruption, of the baleful influence of commercialism, while Dr. Graham Taylor, another leading settlement-worker in Chicago, has told labor that it has nothing to fear nearly so much "as the failure" of its representatives and officers "to appreciate how responsible they are, and will sternly be held to be, for the use they make of the power they are conceded to have."

It were a waste of space to descant upon the immorality and inexpediency of contract-breaking. The slightest intentional breach of an agreement voluntarily made is a severe blow at collective bargaining and the cause of unionism. No responsible leader excuses it, and no fair-minded citizen supposes that organized labor as a whole is chargeable with the practice of repudiation. The sympathetic strike is, however, in a different category.

Legally, it is plain, there is no distinction to be drawn between a "selfish" strike and an "altruistic" strike. Since a free man may quit work for any reason whatever, or without any reason at all, unless he has bound himself by a contract not to, it follows that a strike for the purpose of aiding some other trade or element is as legitimate as a strike for a direct personal reason. If compulsory arbitration is ever established, it will not be confined to sympathetic strikes. Yet, from a practical, "business" point of view, the demand for recognition and collective bargaining is utterly inconsistent with the reservation of the right to strike out of sympathy. What employer will deal with a union

which refuses to sign away the right to strike in sympathy with other men's employees?

It is not, to be sure, easy for the unions to give up the sympathetic strike. What, they ask, would become of their idealism, of their noble motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all?" But the real question is, whether, in the long run, labor's interests are best subserved by the unrestricted freedom of striking, or by agreements with employers containing anti-sympathetic strike clauses. Altruistic strikes will never be sanctioned by the business community, and industrialism has its own ideals and standards. Not all lawful things are expedient or advisable.

Finally, the developments of the present phase of the unionist movement have impressed labor leaders, impartial judges and lawyers, and sober-minded men generally with the need of greater certainty and coherence in the laws or interpretations of law applicable to industrial conflicts. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that nothing is settled in this branch of jurisprudence, and the decisions are confused and confusing. In some cases the old principle of conspiracy has been so applied to modern conditions as to render doubtful the legality of concerted strikes, when the purpose is to compel an employer to do what he would not do without such pressure. On such questions as peaceable picketing, boycotting, liability of organizations for unauthorized acts of officials and agents, or even members, the differences are extreme and hopeless.

Labor has been urged to acquire the status of corporate bodies, on the ground that responsibility should accompany power. As a rule, the unions shrink from incorporation, and the real reason, whether they are fully conscious of it or not, may be found in the chaotic state of the law bearing on their rights, powers, and liabilities. They apprehend continual litigation and malicious attacks upon their funds. The most law-abiding of them do not know how far they may go, and where they must stop. It is sufficient to refer, for illustrative purposes, to the Wabash injunction, so called, which restrained the officers of one of the best-managed unions from calling a strike which the men themselves had authorized and directed them to call. The order was subsequently dissolved, but it is, nevertheless, regarded in certain circles as a precedent.

Among the newer aspects of the industrial movement the legal ones yield to none in importance and gravity. There are cases now pending in the courts of Illinois, Colorado, Connecticut, and New York the disposition of which will affect in no slight degree the course and tactics of union labor.

# THE STORY OF A LABOR UNION IN BUSINESS.

BY C. H. QUINN.

THE story of a rare practical experiment in coöperative labor is the history of a labor union that went into business for itself. The result is full of sociological significance. It is a valuable experiment, because it was fought out under every-day conditions, in the midst of the competition and the motives that exist everywhere in the commercial world.

Polishers' Union No. 113, of Rochester, N. Y., was organized in the spring of 1902 by the polishers employed at the Eastman kodak factory. Demands of the union were refused by Manager Frank A. Brownell. A strike followed. Mr. Brownell suggested that the men start a shop of their own. He offered to lease them the necessary plant and give them his work when their bid was as low as that of other shops.

The union decided to adopt Mr. Brownell's suggestion. Thirty-four workmen subscribed for one \$100-share each, and the total represented the capital stock. Business started well, and the coöperative concern prospered. The company was in the open field for business, and secured the Eastman work only when its bids were as low as those of its competitors. After two years and a half what is the condition of the experiment?

From thirty-four owners the thirty-four shares of stock have gradually gravitated into the hands of five of the original stockholders. But that is not the most significant phase of the matter. In the beginning the stockholders were radical union men. Now the five who own the entire stock are advocates of the open shop.

They refuse absolutely to treat with the polishers' union. When the latter urged its rules the five owners declared they would close their plant before they would be dictated to by the union. To seek the reasons for the complete change of position is like probing for the germ of a disease.

It is evident that the open shop is more profitable for the employer, else why should the ones in the experiment so change their views? Did they not demonstrate human nature? The feeling of proprietorship that began to steal upon them as the balance of power came into their hands wrought the gradual change in their minds and completely shifted their point of view.

At the end of the first eighteen months, the number of stockholders was reduced to twenty-

one. The causes of the change in ownership were many, and were such as would occur in a similar experiment the world over. When a stockholder desired to sell out he had, by a rule of the company, to offer his holding to his co-workers first. If they did not buy at his price, the board of directors would set a price. If their figure was not satisfactory, he could then offer it for sale outside, but not for less than he had offered it to the other stockholders.

If business was booming, stock brought a good premium. If there was plenty of work in sight, particularly good premiums were offered. If the future was not more than normally bright, stock would sell only at a discount. The stockholders, of course, received standard wages, besides the dividends on the stock.

Control of the coöperative company's affairs was vested, at the start, in a board of nine directors, chosen from the working stockholders, including the president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary. All complaints were referred to a shop committee of three, whose dictum was final. The board of directors selected the shop foreman, who served until replaced by another choice of the board.

Naturally enough there were many incidents that required diplomacy, and the experimenters had a large and valuable experience in seeing things from the standpoint of an employer. There were many long conferences over the shop and business policy.

As the original coöperators sold their shares to other stockholders, it became necessary to hire men to take the places of the sellers, who left. Some who sold their stock remained at work as the employees of their former partners. Thus, there are now a former president and other ex-officers working at the bench. The men now work by the piece.

One noteworthy feature of the experiment in coöperation is the number of men who, from it, started in business for themselves. It proved a practical school of business for them. It incited many of the original stockholders to quit the shop and enter some enterprise as proprietor.

The present owners of the thirty-four shares of stock are doing a good business, and feel independent enough to fix their own scale of wages and tell the union that they will run an open shop if they want to.

# THE PROGRESS CHINA IS MAKING.

BY PROFESSOR JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

(Member of the Commission on International Exchange.)

CHINA has been generally referred to until of late years as an unprogressive country, with her industries stagnant, her government asleep. Since the Boxer troubles in 1900, however, there has been a feeling that there is more energy in China, however misdirected, than had been supposed. There has been much talk, too, of railroads, telegraphs, technical schools, and other evidences of Western culture, so that many have wondered if China were not about to give us an example of an Oriental nation taking on Western habits of thought and living, such as has been given us by Japan. But there has been much misconception about these changes, and the reasons for them. We need a closer study.

## CHINESE IDEALS DIFFERENT FROM OURS.

The Chinese have not been asleep. The marked intelligence, the untiring vigilance, the mental acuteness, shown even by the ordinary laundryman, or coolie, who has found his way to America would serve to show that even the lowest in the population have an active intelligence and business qualifications far surpassing those of many other peoples whom we have been disposed to rank higher in the social scale. It is, however, difficult for any one to judge others justly when their views of life, their habits of living, and their ideals are different, and we, in consequence, have largely misjudged the Chinese, thinking them backward when they are merely different; uncultured, simply because they do not care for our culture; degraded because some of their practices, being strange to us, have seemed to us wrong. We should do better, perhaps, if we were to realize that their judgments of us have been no less severe, that their contempt for us has been no less scornful than ours for them, and that, after all, their judgment has perhaps been about as nearly right as ours. From our own point of view, of course, we shall appear to ourselves to be the better, the more progressive; but we must also expect that from their point of view they will appear to themselves to be the nation most in advance.

We would hardly deny that, when we contrast ourselves with the Chinese, we are referring largely to our mechanical inventions, to

our extended commerce, to our habits of living which add to our physical comforts,—in short, to the progress that we have made in controlling natural forces. They, on the other hand, would say that all of these things are matters of secondary consequence; that they consider of far more importance than these material things peace, comfort among the people, scholarship, right living, observance of the family relations, reverence for parents and ancestors, devotion to the Emperor; and although we might call attention to the multitudes of examples of officials who, through their selfish corruption, have betrayed the welfare of their country, to ignorance of the simplest sanitary principles which has led to an appalling death-rate in their centers of population, and to their readiness to gratify their lower sensual natures in ways that would shock the moral sense of an American community, we should still have to confess that nowhere else in the world, perhaps, is there to-day so active and so universal a regard for the higher learning, as they understand it, so universal and profound a reverence for the teachers of culture and morals, and so rigid an observance on the part of the great masses of the people of their principles of religion and morals, however ill-defined and crude and false from our view-point these principles may be. But they are changing, and in our direction.

## MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

One of the chief objects for witty comment on the part of travelers in the interior of China is the Chinese road. Many of the great highways which have served as the arteries of inland commerce for centuries are never worked, so that the active winds, blowing away the dust raised by the cart-wheels for centuries, have made out of roads deep channels; sometimes fifteen or twenty feet deep, like huge ditches cut through the fields, and in order to escape these trenches, which at times become flowing rivers, the roads have spread over the surrounding fields as far as the owners would permit. But since the railroads have begun to show the great advantages of a more rapid interchange of goods between the different parts of the country, and since the Chinese have begun to learn some of the advantages that come from more

active governmental intervention, in many places the local officials have begun to repair the roads, and the welfare of the whole community is being kept to the fore, as against the selfish interests of individuals. Although only a beginning has been made, there is perhaps no other single fact more significant of the Western way of looking at things than that the public highways are, in some localities, beginning to be recognized as belonging to the public, and as subject to administration in the interests of the public.

The foreigners, of course, have been most prominent in advocating the building of railroads over the lines of the great highways of commerce in China. We all know the opposition which was at first raised to the introduction of the railroads, partly because they were new, partly for the reasons so long advocated in England and the United States, that they would ruin the traffic by animal power, and largely also because in many cases they were certain to disturb the ancestral graves. On the other hand, the two or three roads already built have shown their benefits so clearly, even to the great masses of the common people, who are extremely fond of traveling, packing themselves by thousands into the open third-class cars, that, with the practical sense for which the Chinese have long been distinguished, they are rapidly finding means to overcome the difficulties. The foreigners have shown themselves willing to pay for the lands used by the road. The line can, without much difficulty, ordinarily, be laid so as to avoid the tombs of the great, while the payment of a few dollars,—say, from three to five,—for the grave of a poor man is ample to convince his surviving relatives that his spirit can rest in peace equally well in some neighboring locality. Owing to the political complications which have arisen in connection with some of the foreign concessions, the Chinese are rapidly reaching the conclusion that most of the roads to be built hereafter should be constructed either solely with Chinese capital, or at least with sufficient Chinese capital to keep the control. Doubtless, in many cases the Chinese are unduly prejudiced, but they have at times been most unfairly treated. Comparatively soon, however, they will learn how to get the benefit of foreign experience for their railroads, while at the same time protecting themselves against foreign domination. This is sure: the Chinese are determined to have their country reasonably well equipped with railroads in the not-distant future; and then, beyond all question, the Chinese people will so patronize these roads, both for passengers and for freight, that all those lines which are laid out with due care will be a financial success.

Years ago the Chinese officials had recognized the advantages of instantaneous communication by telegraph, so that lines were promptly built, and now there are telegraph lines throughout China in all the provinces, even in many cities of relatively small importance. Although these lines are chiefly, possibly, for government use, they are still used commercially, and in time this may well become the chief use. In the larger cities, such as Shanghai and Tien-tsin, the telephone is in common use, not only among the foreigners, but with the abler Chinese as well, while even the long-distance telephone between Peking and Tien-tsin is in constant use by the officials. The modern post-office facilities in the larger places are good, and are cheaper than in America. Modern inventions, like the bicycle and automobile, are rapidly increasing in use, and where they are suited to Chinese habits they soon become popular. Even in the far interior, hundreds of miles from seacoast or railroad, kerosene oil from Russia or America is in frequent use, while hand mirrors and other toilet articles from Germany are displayed in many shops.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Although most of the Chinese doubtless still believe that their system of education is far better from the standpoint of the higher culture than Western training, their sad experience with foreigners in warfare, and the practical evidence of the superior power of the foreigners in securing many kinds of comforts which even the Chinese recognize as beneficial, have led them to see that Western learning cannot be ignored. In many of the public examinations, therefore, questions in foreign learning are introduced; the missionary schools throughout the country are well patronized by many of the Chinese, even when they have no idea of subscribing to Christian doctrines, and good technical schools, especially military schools, are founded and supported by viceroys in different parts of China. This movement, particularly the development of technical and military schools, is bound to continue, so that within a comparatively few years China will possess many schools which can give a fair degree of training in Western learning, while thousands of the Chinese, of the wealthy and official classes, will be sent abroad to get the best training which the world affords in the various lines of knowledge which they most desire.

Some foreign countries are beginning to realize the benefits that may accrue to their commerce and to their political relations with China from this training of Chinese students. In consequence they are putting forth great efforts to



secure as many of them as possible. In this competition for students we are greatly hampered. Students can be supported in Belgium or Germany much cheaper than in the United States, while in Japan, counting transportation, from five to eight students can be trained for the cost of one in the United States. Some of the Chinese viceroys have lamented the fact that they cannot send more of their students to the United States on account of the greater cost, although, other things being equal, they prefer the American training.

#### EFFICIENCY OF THE ARMY.

Not only are the Chinese attempting to fit themselves for meeting foreign troops by founding military schools for the training of officers, but the viceroys are enlisting armies that are drilling under foreign instructors and under foreign-trained Chinese, so that they may be fitted, if the need should arise, to meet foreign troops on the battlefield. While Chinese troops, at the time of the China-Japan war, were the laughing-stock of the world, it should not be forgotten that the chief cause of their failure was lack of anything like competent command. Chinese troops trained under foreign officers become very efficient. There can be no question of the personal bravery of the Chinese, of their indifference to wounds and death, and of their power to endure hardships. Given trained officers in whom they have confidence, the Chinese soldiers may well become the equal of those of any of the Western nations. Even now, under some of the more progressive viceroys, a review that a decade ago would have presented the sorry spectacle of an unkempt, ill-equipped, straggling crowd, now shows trim, well-clad, well-armed, well-drilled battalions that can march as promptly and camp in as orderly a fashion as many of the foreign troops seen in China in 1900. It will not be many years before China will be able to put into the field a well-trained army that at need may well become formidable. At present one sees but the beginnings; but the results of 1896 and 1900 are not forgotten, and there can be no doubt that most of the progressive men in China are determined to have a large and good army in the not-distant future.

Of even more striking significance is the movement, recently inaugurated, toward centralizing the control of the army. Heretofore the army has been equipped and handled by the various viceroys. Now there is a central army board, which partly controls the troops of the different viceroys; and if, ten years hence, a great war should arise, practically all the drilled troops in China will be handled as a unit and

placed wherever they can be made most effective against the enemy.

#### UNITY OF ADMINISTRATION.

The need of centralized governmental organization in all directions is felt now more than ever before by most of the Chinese officials of the more progressive type. Many of their younger advisers and secretaries have studied abroad, and are able to outline the methods of foreign centralized administration. Moreover, the sufferings of China, within the last ten years, have shown the higher officials the need of centralized direction, such as the control of their internal affairs had never before made necessary. The trained Chinese, although they may be woefully ignorant in matters of Western learning, are by no means unintelligent, and when they see clearly the need for change in their methods in order to bring about a practical result, that change will be made. Not merely is centralization coming in matters of military administration, but their railroad and mining administrations are being made uniform and directed by a central board.

In their late treaties they have agreed to establish one uniform monetary system for the whole empire to take the place of the present inextricably confused lack of system in monetary matters, which gives to almost every separate locality in the huge empire a local money different from that found elsewhere,—a confusion which places among the people a horde of money-changers, who grow rich at the expense of trade. This unification of moneys will be of the greatest benefit.

#### THE BOARD OF COMMERCE.

A very noteworthy change in the attitude of the Chinese Government toward Western learning and administration is the creation lately of the Board of Commerce, which is to be the directing authority over railroads, mines, telegraphs, and other commercial and industrial developments throughout all China. The head of the government, the Prince of Ch'ing, has placed his son in the presidency, and the ambitious board is reaching out for power in all directions in a manner worthy of the most strenuous Western enterprise. Doubtless, more or less jealousy has arisen and will arise between this board and others; but a contest for work and power among different divisions of a government is not unknown elsewhere, and if that work can be kept directed toward public ends instead of private plunder, it can redound only to the good of the country; while the taking up of commercial questions so prominently by the cen-

tral government, which heretofore has practically ignored everything of the kind, except in so far as the necessary provision for the revenue of the central government was concerned, is a most hopeful sign of progress.

#### YOUNGER MEN AS ADMINISTRATORS.

Another sign of the modern spirit, as it has in many cases been exemplified of late years even among Western nations, and in our own country, is seen in the increasing prominence given to young men, and the important administrative positions given into their care. The Empress-Dowager, although past seventy years of age, and although she has been a conservative of the conservatives (to put the matter mildly), is, nevertheless, from the best information that one can secure, one of those ever-youthful spirits that do things,—restless, eager for power, unhesitating as to means where the desired end is clearly in view. She has, beyond doubt, recognized that if China is to hold her own against the Western powers, many of the Western methods of administration and much of the Western learning must be adopted. She has also recognized the need of energy and thoroughness in administration. It is doubtless due as much to her modernized Chinese spirit as to the naturally progressive tendencies of the Emperor that many positions formerly held by aged men, who were supposed to secure success through the wisdom of years, are now given to younger men, whose success is to be attained by energy in administration. The most important viceroys, with one exception, are now held by vigorous men not beyond their prime. Many of the governors and provincial treasurers are young men. The leading boards in Peking, with one or two exceptions, are filled largely by men in the prime of life, many of them under fifty. In some instances the positions most prominent in honor are held by older men, while their chief counselors, who practically direct the administration, are young men. Until within a few years men of foreign training seemed to be kept rather in the background, the government feeling that they were perhaps no longer Chinese in sympathy; but now the need of people with foreign training to cope with foreigners is increasingly felt, and to-day many important secretaryships, with practically directing power so long as the holders show sufficient tact, are in the hands of men of foreign training. This is possibly the most hopeful sign of progress in the empire. Even where men without foreign training exercise the power, they are often men of the modern spirit, who are doing everything possible to train their younger men in modern lines.

#### PROGRESS IN THE EMPIRE.

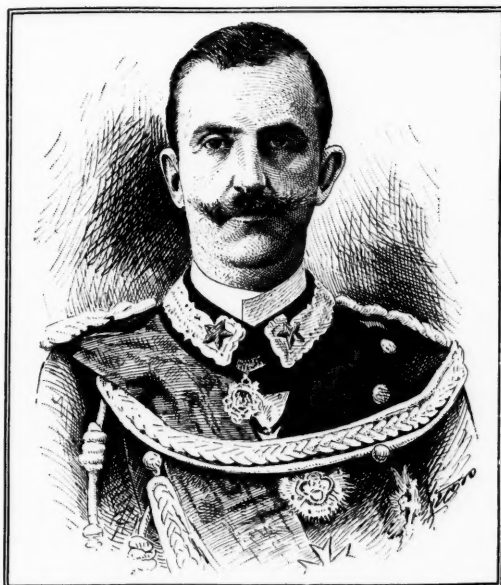
The fact of Chinese progress in Western methods cannot be denied. The further fact, that this progress will soon be greatly intensified, is also beyond question. It is, therefore, important to inquire what are the motives of the Chinese Government in encouraging this development. The motives determine the use, hostile or friendly, to be made of the new power. Are the Chinese enamored of Western learning? Do they humbly think that they are being improved by the adoption of Western manners? Quiet conversation with friendly Chinese who have confidence in your discretion and sympathy will soon dispel any such belief. The humiliating experiences of 1895 and of 1900 showed the Chinese that in war they were no match for the Westerners. The loss of territory to France, to England, to Germany, to Russia, to Japan, within the last few years, and the aggressive threats of the representatives of most of these powers at different times, convinced them that China, as a territorial and governmental entity, would soon cease to exist if they did not make themselves able to resist foreign aggression; have convinced them, therefore, of the absolute necessity of adopting foreign learning so far as it is necessary to strengthen them for war.

Those of the Chinese who have studied abroad, and have become familiar with the foreign home and with the moral excellence of some of the Western doctrines as actually lived by some of the best of the foreign people, believe that in many individual particulars Western customs are superior to their own, but this belief is by no means general even among the higher classes, and probably, with scarcely an exception, they all believe that in very many respects the Chinese civilization, and particularly the Chinese ideals of life, are superior. The Chinese are making little effort to cultivate Western art, to study Western literature, to adopt the Western religions, to adopt even Western methods of government, except so far as these things contribute directly to their power of resistance to Western aggression. It is probably not at all unjust to conclude that the Chinese are not adopting Western methods because they recognize their essential superiority, but because they will thereby be better enabled to meet the Westerners on even terms in the contest which they believe to be inevitable for the protection of Chinese territory and of Chinese civilization. But the Chinese are not aggressive, and there is every reason to believe that nations that are willing to do justice will receive from them just treatment in return.

## LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

### AN INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF AGRICULTURE.

IN response to the invitation of the Italian Government, upon the initiative of King Victor Emmanuel, there will gather, on May 28, in Rome, delegates from a number of countries to establish an international chamber of agriculture. The King, in his admirably brief and clear letter to Premier Giolitti calling the con-



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL III.

ference, gives credit for the idea to an American, Mr. David Lubin, of California, who, he says, explained the idea to him "with the warmth that comes from sincere conviction." Mr. Lubin, in explaining why he chose Italy to promulgate the idea, says: "Italy, being a nation of medium importance in international agriculture, would not arouse the jealousy of other nations in issuing the call." Furthermore, "the beauties of Italian soil and the classic glories of her history form an attraction for foreigners of whatsoever nationality, and arouse the affection and sympathy of all nations." The idea was first publicly expressed at Budapest in 1896, but was the growth of thirteen years' thought and work preceding this date. In an address

at Vienna, in March last, Mr. Lubin outlined the history of his idea and told of his efforts to secure protection for the staples of American agriculture by a bounty on exports of the same.

The invitation of the Italian Government was at once approved by a number of different organizations in the United States, among them the National Allied Agricultural Associations of America and the American Federation of Labor, these organizations together representing nearly four million wage-earners. In urging President Roosevelt to send delegates to the conference, these organizations suggested the desirability of his naming at least one real farmer and one ranchman. Evidently not moved by this appeal, the President named, as representatives of the Government, Hon. Henry White, the new ambassador to Italy, and Mr. Albert F. Woods, vegetable pathologist of the Department of Agriculture. Early in April, the general committee decided that each country might be represented, in addition to the government delegates, by delegates from agricultural associations.

#### SOME ITALIAN COMMENT.

All of the Italian reviews which comment at all on the coming congress are warm in their praise of the King for his effort in behalf of agriculturists. The *Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence) contents itself with presenting the official documents, without comment. The editor of the *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), however, Deputy Maggiorino Ferraris, waxes eloquent in praise of the King and the project, which is quite in line with many articles he has published during the past five years. In the *Italia Moderna* (Rome) there are two articles on the subject,—one by Signor A. Agresti, warmly supporting the plan, and another by Signor Antonio Monzilli, caustically criticising the whole scheme as ill-advised and inadequate to combat the evils from which Italian agriculture suffers.

The idea is perhaps best stated in the paragraph of the King's letter following the introduction, in which he mentions the need of more solidarity among agriculturists. He says:

For this reason, an international institution, absolutely unpolitical in its aims, which would have before it the conditions of agriculture in the different countries of the world; which would notify periodically the

quantity and the quality of the crops in hand, so as to facilitate the production of such crops and render less costly and more rapid the trade in same and facilitate the attainment of a more favorable settlement of prices, would be most highly beneficial. This institution, acting in unison with the various national associations already constituted for similar purposes, would also furnish reliable information as to the demand and supply of agricultural labor in various parts of the world, so as to provide emigrants with a safe and useful guide; it would promote those agreements necessary for collective defense against diseases of plants and domestic animals which cannot be successfully fought by means of partial action; and, lastly, it would exercise a timely influence on the development of societies for rural coöperation, for agricultural insurance, and for agrarian credit.

#### FUNCTIONS OF SUCH A CHAMBER.

Discussing these concrete functions, Deputy Ferraris, in his article in the *Nuova Antologia*, says: "Celebrated above all is the United States Department of Agriculture, to whose publications, as to those of the decennial agricultural census, the whole world is debtor for a rich treasure of information and observations." As Germany conferred vast benefits by suggesting the Universal Postal Union, so Italy will do by her initiative in uniting all the national institutions for the furtherance of agriculture. This first function, he states, might develop in the following directions:

1. Statistical, in gathering information as to prices, production, transportation, and commerce of agricultural products.
2. Economic, as concerns property conditions, agricultural and mortgage credit, coöperation, tariffs, and transportation.
3. Technical, respecting the progress of scientific agriculture, agricultural chemistry, and agricultural machinery.
4. Legislative, concerning agrarian legislation in the various countries.
5. Social, as regards emigration, wages, conditions of living, hygiene, and provident and beneficent institutions for peasants and agricultural laborers.
6. Commercial, as a bureau of information for producers and consumers of the whole world.

Both Deputy Ferraris and Signor Agresti (in his article in the *Italia Moderna*) argue as to the need of agriculturists organizing to defend themselves against the associated workmen on the one hand and the monopolizing capitalists on the other, though, as the latter writer urges, this organization should not be an aggressive, hostile act, but rather a movement to raise up the most numerous class of laborers from the oppression and misery in which they now live.

To be fruitful, the struggle against secular habits, against now decrepit social forms, cannot and should not be monopolized by a single class, either that of the capitalists or that of the industrial proletariat, but

should be the common work of men who all seek by their individual means to harmonize the collective interests so as to render all equally dear and equally beneficial to all.

Signor Agresti says, further: "It is certain that a bourse, established by the governments in the interests of agricultural producers, from which would be sent, directly to the seats of the associated organizations, the information specially interesting the producers, would be the most powerful and energetic defense against the trusts, the monopolies, and the artificial manipulation of prices."

#### "AGRICULTURE MUST ORGANIZE."

The dignified daily of Rome, the *Tribuna*, in commenting on this project, says:

Agriculture must organize. Not only must this be done for a locality, but for all localities. And all of these organizations must be united in a federation which shall guide and direct, for without this central body the isolated unions would be powerless. This, however, is not the whole of the matter, for the price of agricultural products is not alone determined by local and national conditions, but also and preëminently by international conditions. And it is exactly this international field which regulates and fixes the prices of farming products, that to-day is taken care of by commerce and finance to the exclusion of the rightful party in interest,—namely, the farmer.

Periodicals in other countries comment appreciatively on the idea. The London *Standard* considers that "a chamber of commerce, such as the King of Italy suggests, cannot but render more general, and put at the disposition of all agriculturists in every country, that economical and commercial knowledge which is particularly necessary to render their occupation flourishing and profitable." The *Humanité*, of Paris, thinks that "the idea is excellent. By means of the multiplication of international organs we shall prepare, not only the peace of the world, but also the liberation of the workman." The *Berliner Tageblatt* believes that "the institution will be for the comparative study of agriculture what the international office of longitude of Paris is for the development of the metric system." Mr. Nugent Harris, secretary of the society of English Agriculturists, says (in the London *Daily News*): "The International Institute will be the crown of the work we are accomplishing in England. That which our general society does here, the project of the King of Italy will do for the whole world."

It was reserved for an article by an Italian (the paper of Signor Monzilli in the *Italia Moderna* already referred to) to severely criticise the whole scheme. Mr. Lubin, says Signor Monzilli, argues only from conditions in the



United States. All through the ages, he continues, Europe has been familiar with organizations of workmen and merchants, while agriculture has been content to dwell apart, selling its products and satisfied with the aid lent by industrial labor and commerce in making up and disposing of these products. Certainly, the unprecedented proportions of modern industrial organizations have acted upon agriculturists, but not in the way Mr. Lubin claims,—at least, not in Europe, where railroad rates are controlled by the state. Signor Monzilli thinks the action of the trusts in raising prices is against the interests of consumers, surely, but for the benefit of the producers, though naturally in less degree than for the trusts themselves.

"In reality, a trust is not possible without the aid of the producers," he declares. He further says that trusts such as Mr. Lubin describes cannot exist in Europe, whose varied products, participating in the world's markets, so far as he knows, do not feel the influence of the trusts.

Moreover, to put an end to the "chaos and anarchy" that Mr. Lubin thinks exist, he would fight by an organization identical with that of industry. We should have, then, great trusts of agricultural producers which should hold high the prices of products to assure to the agriculturists the greater profits that now, as he asserts, go only to the pockets of the trust members. For the consumers, the situation would remain unchanged.

In short, Signor Monzilli deems that action against the trusts should be in the interest of the consumers, and that it should be begun by

a great industrial and commercial nation like England.

#### WOULD THE IDEA BE FEASIBLE?

This writer lays agricultural poverty in the older countries largely to the enormously increased production, not only of new fields more favorably situated, but also of the older lands, and the growing cheapness and ease of transportation. Add to this the greater fiscal burdens of European agriculture, the greater expense of cultivating the soil, the greater cost of the means of subsistence, and the rise in the standard of living of the producers, and, according to this writer, the bad state of agriculture is fully accounted for. He adds:

These causes can certainly not be removed by the international organization conceived by Mr. Lubin. The struggle will continue intense. Every country will seek to adopt all the means it deems proper to produce more and at less cost, in order to overcome the competition of the others, and, as in the past, every country will have recourse to tariff to make up for the greater cost of its own products compared with those of foreign countries.

Moreover, he thinks the lack of organization and solidarity of the agriculturists must be greatly exaggerated, when just now they are imposing their will on European governments. He cites France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and even Switzerland, as recent scenes of triumph for the agrarians in forcing new tariffs and new laws. Italy, indeed, has done less in this line, but, he asks, is it necessary to call an international congress to take note of her weakness in this respect?

### BRITISH AGRICULTURE,—GERMANY'S EXAMPLE.

AMERICA may yet profit from the experience of older countries in the husbanding of natural resources.

Mr. O. E. Eltzbacher contributes to the *Contemporary Review* a very interesting and suggestive paper on the agricultural prosperity of Germany. Germany became prosperous by imitating England; now England must go to school to Germany.

#### HOW ENGLAND LED THE WAY.

Mr. Eltzbacher says:

On the model of British agriculture the present prosperity of the agriculture of Germany and France was founded, incredible as it may seem if we compare the agricultural position of those countries with ours at the present day. Coöperation for agricultural purposes first sprang up in this country, but, owing to the indifference of the state, coöperation among farmers has

not spread far in Great Britain. In Germany there is, on an average, one coöperative society for every three hundred individual holdings. Great Britain was the pioneer, not only in empiric methods of cultivation and in the introduction of improved machinery, but also in making scientific experiments in matters agricultural, which proved of incalculable help to Germany. The greatest chemists were, and are still, Frenchmen and Englishmen.

#### WHAT MUST BE DONE NOW.

The sturdy English race of former times is becoming almost extinct, and is being replaced by a puny, stunted, sickly, sterile, narrow-chested, weak-boned, short-sighted, and rotten-toothed race. What Great Britain requires for the salvation of her agriculture is, in the first place, the gradual creation of a substantial peasant class, who work with their own hands on freehold agricultural properties of moderate size. If we wish to possess again flourishing rural industries, we must begin at the base, and must first of all abolish the present

system of land tenure and replace it by a system of freehold properties. We must begin by giving to our agriculture a stable, safe, and permanent basis.

More money must be spent on agricultural education.

The Prussian ministry of agriculture spends yearly about two hundred thousand pounds on agricultural education in all its branches, and the sum total spent by all the German governments and local authorities in this direction must amount to about five hundred thousand pounds.

Coöperative societies must be multiplied, and markets created to eliminate the middleman.

The German housewife goes to the market for her supply. In this country she has to go to the shops, unless the shopman "calls for orders," and as the turnover of the average greengrocer is very small, and as the goods are easily perishable, the shopman has to charge two, three, or four times the price which the producer receives.

#### ABOVE ALL, CHEAPER RAILWAY RATES !

In the light of American agitation for lower railroad rates, Mr. Eltzbacher's complaint against the English railroads is suggestive.

While the German peasants travel fourth-class at about a farthing a mile, and are allowed to take into the carriages, which are specially built for that purpose, huge baskets full of produce which are carried free of charge, British railway charges are so high, even for carrying large quantities of farm produce, that every night long strings of carts may be seen carrying agri-

cultural produce from the country into London and other big towns. Only in that country which was the pioneer in railway transport the railways are allowed to extort from the countrymen freight charges which even now make the medieval form of transport the cheaper one. In that country which, after Belgium, possesses the densest railway net in the world droves of cattle and flocks of sheep may be seen walking from Scotland to London, while in Germany cattle transport by road is almost unknown. In our congested towns, millions of poor are crying for cheap food, and in our deserted and reduced country districts hundreds of thousands of impoverished farmers are crying for town prices for their vegetables, their meat, their fruit, etc. Yet the bitter cry of country and town remains unheard. Consumers and producers cannot meet because our railway companies stand between the two and forbid it by exacting a ruinous toll in the form of railway rates which are without a parallel in the world.

Mr. Eltzbacher concludes his paper by saying that he has shown why Germany, which has a poor soil, an unfavorable climate, an unfortunate geographical position and structure, and a somewhat dull-minded country population, possesses a powerful, flourishing, and expanding agriculture, while Great Britain, which has the most fruitful soil in northern Europe, a mild and equable climate, a most favorable geographical position and structure, an enterprising and energetic population, and a great agricultural past, has rural industries which have been decaying for three decades. But the ills from which she suffers are curable, and that is the hope of it.

## FRANCE AND THE MILLIONS SHE HAS LOANED TO RUSSIA.

A STRONG, earnest protest against any more Russian loans from France appears in *La Revue*, under the title "How to Save Our Nine Billiards" (9,000,000,000 francs, or \$1,800,000,000). The writer, who signs himself "A Friend of the Alliance," declares that France is in the position of one who allows her *fiancé*, before the solemn act of marriage, to take possession of her dowry. Before receiving satisfactory proof of the real sentiments of her august ally, France has imprudently loaned her all her money. How much does the loan amount to? It would be difficult to say precisely, for in her capacity of generous lover, unable to reckon the amount, France has given whatever Russia has asked. Here France seems to have lost all notion of foresight. From the financial point of view, she is still in the honeymoon, and there has been absolutely no restraint put on the emigration of the French public fortune. France, moreover, in addition to making large advances to Russia, has saved and maintained the credit of her ally.

For Russia ! For Russia ! Always for Russia. There is a war of madness,—France furnishes the money. Russia loses her fleet, and then is defeated in a number of great battles ; the stupidity of her generals and the shameful corruption of her administration is known to the whole world,—France furnishes the money. The world begins to lose all hope in the final result of this terrible disaster,—still France furnishes the money. An internal revolution breaks out ; the Russian Government finds itself at war with its own laboring classes, with its intellectuals, with its *noblesse* ; political assassinations portend the overturn of the empire and the triumph of revolution ; bombs bursting on all sides make known in dark, sinister tones the break-up of the Russian Empire,—and France still furnishes the money.

In October, 1904, Russia's debt to France was said to amount to twelve thousand million francs, but in 1897 it was estimated to have reached eleven thousand millions, and certain economists have gone so far as to put the amount at fourteen or fifteen thousand million of francs. The writer, however, is willing to take as the debt the minimum of nine thousand million francs

(about one thousand eight hundred million dollars), which is the sum acknowledged by the official representatives of the Russian treasury at the beginning of 1904.

Her immense sacrifices of money, this writer continues, have given France the right to speak plainly to her ally. What, then, are the contingencies which France has to fear? And what are the duties which she owes to her ally?

The public debt of Russia, according to the writer, surpasses the public debts of Prussia and all the German states put together. It has risen from 4,423,000,000 rubles in 1889 to 6,644,000,000 rubles in 1903, during fourteen years of peace. There are other liabilities besides, such as the railway guaranties of the treasury, etc.



M. KOKOVTSSEV.

(Russian minister of finance.)

It must be borne in mind that all the money borrowed from France has been spent on useless armaments or unproductive industries. When we reflect on the sacrifices of every kind which the war will necessitate, it is easy to understand that the material position of the Russian Empire will be defective for many a year.

The Russian people recognize the folly of continuing the war with Japan, and Russia can only look to France for more money; but in making further loans France will not only risk losing these, but the previous loans as well. Why does the Russian Government not have the moral courage shown by Italy after her defeat by Menelik of Abyssinia? She admitted the defeat, stopped the useless destruction of men and

property, and thus won the respect of the entire civilized world.

Another risk is the varying value of the ruble. Again, the State Bank of Russia, unlike those of France, England or Germany, is not independent of the government. There is, indeed, little serious financial control in Russia. The writer quotes official figures which were published to show that while the Russian expenditure increased in 1904, the receipts had gone up in like proportion; but the writer maintains that on closer examination of this budget it was found that the sum borrowed from France in 1904 figured in the receipts.

Apart from material interests, France must not forget her moral interests. Seeing that the division between the Russian Government and the Russian people is so great, France ought not to aid the bureaucracy which oppresses and ruins the people. What right has France to speak of friendship or sympathy if by her loans she is contributing to the continuance of the war and the maintenance of the autocracy?

#### France and Japan's Resources.

In the following number of *La Revue*, the same writer discusses "The French Millions and the Finances of Japan." Affairs are progressing rapidly toward peace, says this writer, and the French people can render no greater, more valuable, service to their allies, the Russian people, than in encouraging them in every way possible to put an end to their mad war. Peace once concluded, and real liberty once accorded to the citizens of Russia, there can be no manner of doubt whatever that as many millions as may be necessary for the rational evolution of Russia's destiny will be furnished by France. The republic will loan in unlimited amounts for the works of peace, but not another centime should she advance for cannon and stores which are destined to fall into the hands of the Japanese.

A close analysis follows of the economic resources of Japan, which, this writer confesses, are much greater than France or the rest of Europe had supposed. The resources of Japan, says "A Friend of the Alliance," are such that those who are counseling a prosecution of the war by Russia are really not friends of the Russian people, but are working for Japan. His analysis of the economic and industrial capacity of the Japanese people shows that even in war time their production and finances have stood the tests and increased. All this, he points out, has impressed the rest of the world, and, while Russia finds it difficult to secure further financial assistance, Japan can borrow on excellent terms even in Germany.

## THE BATTLE OF MUKDEN.

IT is now generally conceded that the battle of Mukden (February 20 to March 15) was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, in history. The plan on the following page shows the main positions of the Japanese and Russian forces at the opening and middle stages of the contest. During the last days of February, the center of the Russian army rested on the Sha-ho. Its right wing, commanded by General Kaulbars, was distant from its left wing, commanded by General Linevitch, present commander-in-chief, more than one hundred and twenty miles. By the seizure of a pass on his right wing, the Japanese drew Kuropatkin's attention to his left. This they followed up by a great flanking movement, under General Kuroki, commanding the Japanese right. While the Russians were thus kept busy on their left flank, General Nogi, with the veterans of Port Arthur, commanding the Japanese left, made a great turning movement to Sin-Min-Tun, and fell upon the Russian right, forcing it back parallel to the railway. Kuropatkin, believing that the main Japanese army was now on his flanks, withdrew the larger portion of his forces from the front on the Sha-ho. Oku and Nodzu then drove a wedge through the weakened Russian center, and, despite all the efforts of Linevitch, Kaulbars, and Rennen-kampf, forced the Russians into a disastrous retreat. According to the revised figures of the number of men engaged and the casualties in this battle, Kuropatkin had 350,000 men, Oyama 350,000 to 400,000, and the respective losses were (in killed, wounded, and prisoners): Kuropatkin, 107,000; Oyama, 57,000.

While political battles,—that is, battles forced on a commander by political considerations,—have been the rule rather than the exception in this war, the battle of Mukden does not come under that heading. It is rather, says Col. C. E. Beresford, of the British army (writing in the *National Review*), an example of a chief abandoning the initiative to an adversary who has chosen his own time and place for attack. In this case, Marshal Oyama carefully considered the character of his opponent, the value, number, and position of his troops. He kept the Russians in ignorance of his own force and dispositions, and knew how to profit by the favorable climatic moment. It was when the intense cold was over, but the rivers Sha and Hun in front of him could still be crossed on the ice, that he began to deliver his blow. In brief, this was what happened: Oyama, with his immediate command under Nodzu, held the Russian left and center, while Kuroki and Nogi

turned Kuropatkin's flanks and Oku split the front of their army facing on the Sha-ho. Although the Russian and Japanese losses together are officially given as 163,000, they probably amount to fully 250,000 killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners. The results, for the world in general, says Colonel Beresford, in conclusion, are even more considerable than those of Metz or Sedan.

Every arm-chair critic, every disappointed or mediocre commander, will hastily throw all the blame on Kuropatkin. I have endeavored to show that the reports he received during the battle were misleading. He has had, since the commencement of the campaign, an enemy to deal with more serious even than the Japanese. An enemy that has conquered us all,—the crass stupidity of human nature! If Russia is wise, she will make peace. She has no other commander who can reverse the situation. Kuropatkin warned her that war with Japan was very dangerous. If she takes him, M. Witte, and Prince Hilkoﬀ as counselors, she may yet be saved from ruin.

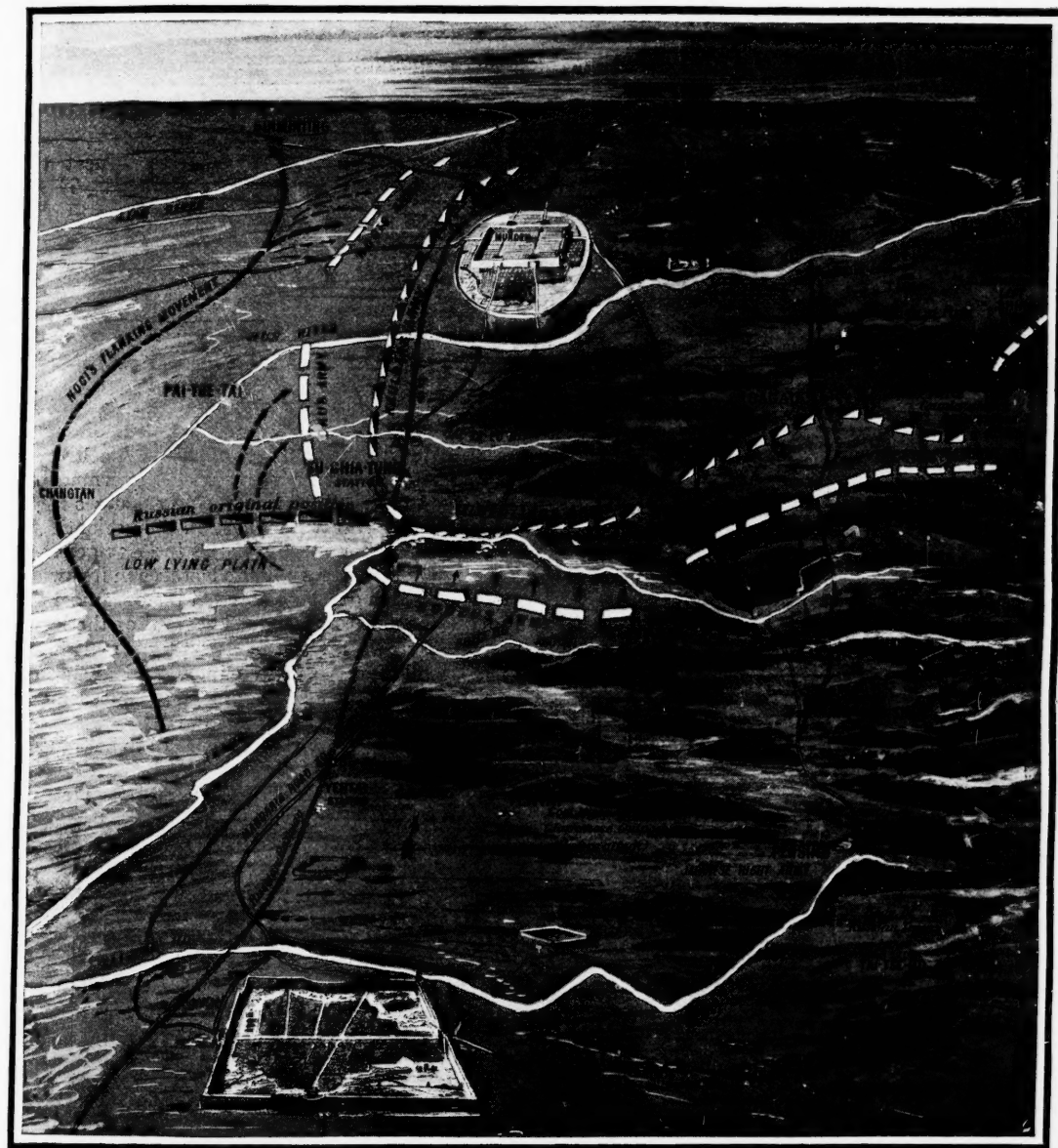
The editor of the *National*, in his comment on the significance of the battle, says:

Europe finds itself obliged to revise its estimate of Japanese military capacity. Hitherto, though eloquent tributes have been paid to the daring and devotion of Japanese troops, and to the unflinching moral courage with which they have been handled by their officers, it was suggested by Western wiseacres that Japanese genius was of that comparatively humdrum order which consists in the infinite capacity for taking pains. Though they might occasionally shine in minor tactics, they were incapable of grappling with the higher problems of strategy. . . . Once more the carping critics of Field Marshal Oyama's strategic powers have been splendidly answered. It would be difficult to match, from the most brilliant military annals of the past, any plan more daring and simple in design, and showing such constructive capacity in its execution, than his scheme for the double envelopment of the prodigious army in front of him, under a renowned commander, whose generalship had been even more eloquently extolled than the Japanese leadership had been depreciated. As the battle of Mukden ended in the rout and disorganization of the Russian host, with the loss of approximately 200,000 men,—80,000 more than capitulated at Sedan,—and an incalculable amount of material, the supersession of General Kuropatkin by General Linevitch, and the conversion of every serious person in Russia, with the possible exception of the Czar, to the imperious necessity of making peace. . . . It may fairly be regarded as one of the decisive battles of the world.

As a result of this great battle, continues this writer, Japan is now completely master of the situation on land as well as on the sea. Her record of fifteen months has been a marvelous one.

She has not sustained one single reverse on either element during a tremendous struggle of fifteen





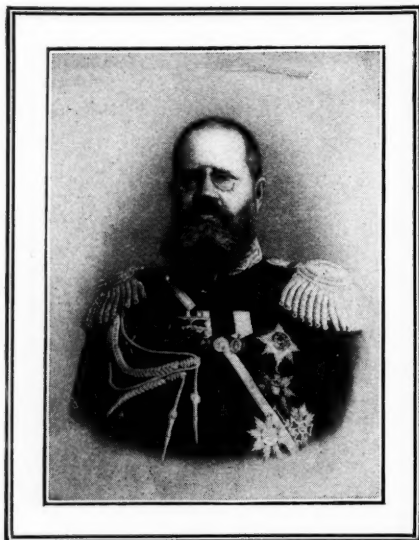
A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF MUKDEN.

months, and, according to the most recent Russian figures, she has already disposed of a Russian army of 750,000 men. Nor is there visible on the horizon any factor which could seriously compromise her predominance, unless it be suggested that Admiral Rozhdestvenski's barnacled battleships are capable of challenging Japan's command of the sea. Moreover, as in this world nothing succeeds like success, the victor has at last secured access to the money markets of the world, and is plentifully supplied with the sinews of war.

The very financiers who only the other day declined to accommodate her except on usurious terms are now tumbling over one another in their anxiety to hail the Rising Sun. There could scarcely be more significant evidence of the respective positions of the belligerents than the recent refusal of financial France to float another Russian loan and the frantic desire of the German Emperor, who has been the most vocal of all Japan's European enemies, that German banks should participate in financing the "yellow peril."

## RUSSIAN WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

IN the student troubles in Russia, and especially in the university "strikes" against the autocracy, the dispatches have stated, a remarkably prominent part was played by the women students, the so-called "koursistki." They were extremely bitter and aggressive, it seems, and they used their influence with the male students in favor of radical action.



GENERAL GLAZOV.

(Russian minister of education.)

Considerable light is thrown on this attitude of the *koursistki* by an article in the *Russkaye Bogatstvo*, the St. Petersburg radical magazine, on the struggle of the Russian women for higher education—a struggle that is by no means ended, and in which for about thirty years the government, as represented by the ministries of education and of the interior, persistently opposed them, both openly and secretly. The writer, a woman, A. Loutchinsky, traces the development of the "courses" (hence the word *koursistka*, one who attends the courses) and provisions or institutions for the higher education of her sex along general and professional lines. She shows that the imperial government has done nothing for, and a great deal against, such education, and that whatever Russian women have accomplished in this direction has been achieved in spite of the government. The story is a strange one, and that it is not overdrawn may be inferred from the fact that it passed the censor, since the review in which it

appears is subject to the "previous," or preliminary, censorship.

In the fifties of the last century, the St. Petersburg University opened its doors to women. There was great rejoicing in the educated circles, but it was soon turned to grief. The university was closed by the government for political reasons. A "free university" was then established under distinguished auspices, but it shared the fate of the state institution. When the latter was reopened, women were excluded therefrom by express provision of its charter. There was not a single place in Russia where a woman might pursue the higher branches of science and culture. And this condition, thanks to the government's prohibitions and obstructions, lasted twenty years. In 1878, after much effort and pleading, the government authorized the establishment of new courses for women of a literary, philological, and scientific character. The ministry of the interior generously offered quarters for the lectures in its own building, which greatly surprised the organizers. Indeed, the minister attended several of the lectures *incognito*, as it were, pleasantly remarking to a friend that his own education had been neglected and that he was anxious to learn something of physiology and anatomy.

Soon, however, the "courses" had to be transferred to another building. A period of nomadic existence began, the government meantime prohibiting public appeals and subscriptions in behalf of the courses and instructing the provincial governors to veto resolutions of zemstvos appropriating money for the same. Funds, therefore, had to be collected privately, but so dear has been the cause of higher educa-



REFORMS IN RUSSIA!

Making a beginning in Moscow.—From Grelot (Paris).

tion to intellectual Russia that, notwithstanding all obstacles and official resistance, there has never been any lack of financial resources.

In 1876, the ministry of education had invited the provincial boards of education to consider the question of providing for women's courses in all provincial universities, such courses to be rigidly supervised and regulated, and the completion of the studies to confer no title, degree, or rights whatsoever on the "graduates." Affirmative decisions were reached everywhere, and two years later the courses were opened. But in 1886 reaction was again dominant in the capital, and all the women's courses were, without a word of warning, ordered suspended. This suspension, however, was never made quite complete. An uncertain condition ensued, lasting about three years. Then the courses were reopened and reorganized, and two full departments were created—an historico-philological and a physico-mathematical.

The reactionaries raged and foamed at the mouth; they warned the government that the courses would prove hotbeds of revolution and heterodoxy and "immorality." But public opinion was not to be easily disregarded. Even the ministers had to defend higher education of women against the furious assaults of the zealots and Bourbons. The work has gone on ever since, private funds supporting the courses all these years. About fifteen months ago, the government made an important concession. It issued a decree placing women physicians graduated from the St. Petersburg Woman's Medical Institute on a footing of equality with men so far as degrees and the title of doctor of medicine are concerned. Other concessions have been proposed or made, and to-day the higher education of women in Russia is regarded as firmly established. Governmental opposition is no longer feared, though the *koursistki* are politically distinctly hostile to the autocracy.

## IS RUSSIA A FEMININE NATION?

AN experience of many years in studying the question has led the writer of an article in the *Monthly Review*, Dr. Rappoport, to sum up the Russian character as essentially feminine. When it is added that the doctor is clearly not one of those who believe in the intellectual (or other) equality of man and woman, the full trend of his article may be better realized. Nevertheless, he qualifies a none too favorable estimate by saying:

The Russian seems to be in a state of becoming and crystallization. Being a young people, there is as yet no fixity, no permanent, fundamental trait, in the Russian. The inequality and inconstancy, the vagueness and chaos, are fundamental traits of the national soul and character which neither time nor historical events ever obliterate. The Russian nation has a fixed character and is perfectly constant in its inconstancy. If it were permitted to ascribe sex to races as well as to individuals, I would say that psychologically the Russians are a feminine race.

Woman, according to Dr. Rappoport, is highly imitative and assimilative; much more adaptable than man, more submissive to customs and prejudices, more constant in her sentiments, and more conservative in opinion. She is misonic, —i.e., opposed to everything new, revolutionary, and progressive. Just so, he tells us, is the Russian.

He is outwardly imitative and assimilative, but fundamentally misonic and conservative; he is inert, indolent, indifferent, insensible, and submissive. Fatalism and gregariousness, absence of individualism

and personality, of initiative and individual genius, a lack of originality, of a sense of personal responsibility and independence of judgment, constitute the fundamental psychological traits of the Russian. Nearly all the defects, and even the apparent qualities, of the Russian are the result of that small quantity of self-sufficiency and self-reliance which he possesses, of his weakness of character, and his continual search for somebody upon whom he can cast his responsibilities. The Russian is thus elastic and changeable in his humor. He is at times melancholy, and at times of exuberant gaiety. Although he is hospitable, sociable, and familiar, one cannot rely upon his promise. His will-power being weak, he is impressionable and enthusiastic; this enthusiasm, however, which travelers have so often noticed, is very superficial and soon cools down. Concentration of the energetic faculties and active opposition are traits generally foreign to the Russian.

His very insensibility and resignation are only additional results of his weak submissiveness. He is resigned because he is passive, and he is passive because he has not strength of character, not "grit" enough to be impassive. His very indifference to death is only another sign of his weakness. In any other country, Kuropatkin's continued defeats and the unjust government would have brought about a military and general revolution. The Russian, however, merely says, "Nitshevo" (Never mind!).

Yet another trait of the Russian is his religiosity. "Paris never goes to bed, and Moscow never ceases to pray." Yet this very religiosity has nothing to do with real religion. "Christianity has not yet penetrated the Russian masses,"

Russian authors themselves go so far as to deny the Russian religious sentiment. In spite of external devotion, of pilgrimages, holy images, miracle-working, crowds flocking to churches, candles given to patron saints, holy bones of saints dug up and worshiped by Czar and peasant, there is no religious faith in Russia. External devotion does not necessarily suppose real religious sentiment.

The very smallness of Russian statistics of criminality, which are considerably less than those of many countries in western Europe, are

not allowed by Dr. Rappoport to be due to any superior moral sense, but merely to "that lack of self-sufficiency and self-reliance, to the absence of personal responsibility and energy," already referred to,—to femininity, in fact, implying no necessary moral superiority whatever. "The Russian, like a woman, is not less inclined to commit crimes, but lacks even the backbone necessary to do so." Weakness,—eternal weakness!

## A REAL REFORM OF THE RUSSIAN CENSORSHIP.

IT now seems as though the first fruits of the Czar Nicholas' recent manifesto promulgating reforms would be a real modification of the present press regulations for the entire empire. As early as February 10, almost immediately after the imperial authorization, the commission presided over by Dr. Theodore Kobeko held a meeting and went through the preliminary deliberations. Dr. Kobeko recently gave out, in an interview reported in the *Novoye Vremya*, some data about the intentions of the commission. Representatives of all the publications of the empire that wish to participate, he declared, will be invited to do so. Representatives of all the St. Petersburg and Moscow dailies, as well as those from some of the better-known provincial journals, will also be invited, and will have the right of a "consulting vote."

The first two questions which the commission will discuss will be the advisability of exempting the provincial press from the censorship, in the same way as the journals of the capital are now exempted; and, secondly, what coercive measures—administrative or judicial—are desirable. Dr. Kobeko himself advocates entire freedom of the press. He believes that such exemption would greatly improve the provincial periodicals; and he holds that punishment, when necessary, should be inflicted only after judicial procedure, in the regular way, through the courts. He gave out as his opinion that before the end of the present year the new regulations might be expected to be enforced. In the course of a conversation with a representative of the *Russ*, Dr. Kobeko expressed his opinion that there ought to be a certain kind of censorship over all printed matter, but that this should be administered with impartiality in all cases.

Other members of the commission, among them Senators A. L. Borovikov, V. K. Sluchevski, and M. M. Staciulevitch, have expressed similar views. They all agree that the freedom of the press in Russia must be made the founda-

tion of all future legislation. The privilege of discussing freely questions that may arise must not be taken away from the daily press, they declare. One great reason, said Senator Sluchevski, recently, for the abnormality in Russian journalism is the inconsistency of a few regulations by which not only the press, but even outside persons, suffer.

The government, in endeavoring to protect the honor of private and official persons against attacks by the press, has created prohibitions to speak altogether about certain persons, events, and so forth, although such prohibitions may have nothing to do with the order and peace of the nation, which it is the duty of the government to guard. . . . From my own experience, I can testify that things have now assumed a different aspect.

Senator Staciulevitch believes that there will be no disagreement from the general opinion that entire freedom of the press is not only desirable, but necessary. He advocates the summoning of representatives from all classes of periodical literature to participate in the discussions. As to the necessity of the removal of the censorship, Senator Staciulevitch says:

A certain Russian journal has compared the fate of the Russian literary worker with that of a horsethief, and has asked which is the better. At first, such a comparison seems preposterous, but, upon going more deeply into the subject, I have discovered that the condition of the horsethief is by far the preferable one. No one can inflict punishment upon him at the place of his crime, and he is generally brought to court and granted a trial. The literary worker, however, is punished without even the semblance of a trial. Most assuredly, the press must be responsible for its actions, but this responsibility should be exacted in a legal way.

Every day, requests for permission to send representatives to the conference reach St. Petersburg from the provincial press. The society of "Lovers of Russian Letters" in Moscow, at its February meeting, passed the following resolution:



It is absolutely necessary, for the interests of Russian literature and enlightenment, that the restrictive and punitive methods of censorship be done away with; it is necessary to grant full liberty to the press, which should be subject only to court trial for its transgressions and violations.

The editors of Polish periodicals in Warsaw sent a telegram to the presiding officer of the

conference, also advocating the freedom of the press and the abolition of the censorship, and requesting the privilege of participating in the conference. It is believed that their request will be granted. Editors in Kief, Odessa, and Saratov have made the same request. The communication from the last-named city also declared for the inviolability of the person of the journalist.

## WHAT THE ZEMSTVO HAS ACTUALLY DONE FOR THE RUSSIAN MASSES.

THE hand of the Russian censor reaches out even to Scandinavia, it would seem. Several months ago, the title-page of the high-class Swedish monthly, *Nordisk Revy* (Northern Review), of Stockholm, contained a statement that the publication would be discontinued. Differences with the Swedish Government, evidently influenced by Russia, are the reason for this. In the last number there is an elaborate study of the Russian zemstvo as an agency which has actually accomplished much good for the Russian people. The writer, who signs himself "D.," takes his figures from official sources, and makes a clear case for the ability of the Russian people to govern themselves. Thanks to forty years' activity of the zemstvos, he declares, Russia has been gradually prepared for a constitution. The zemstvo is a real solid foundation for popular government, with great adaptability for development. In spite of many encroachments upon their rights, the zemstvos are more than ever convinced of the importance of their task.

Outlining the history of the zemstvo as an institution (the main facts of which were given in an article in this REVIEW for January, last), this writer comes to a discussion of the actual results of zemstvo activity. The questions which the zemstvo has to decide to-day concern public education, sanitation, hospital and charity work, road and bridge building, the regulation of navigation on rivers and lakes, the erection and administration of local prisons, agriculture, local postal affairs, and the most just distribution of the taxes imposed by the general government. Despite its difficulties and the obstacles which the central government is constantly interposing, says this writer, the zemstvo has demonstrated beyond a doubt that it really cares for the Russian masses.

### THE ZEMSTVO AND PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Almost all of the public schools of the empire are administered by the zemstvos. It is the

duty of the school board chiefly to inspect the schools, to employ and discharge teachers, and to close schools which have a "dangerous tendency." In 1830, before the introduction of local self-government as exercised by the zemstvos, there existed in the entire empire (omitting Poland) 416 high schools and 718 lower-grade public schools. Twenty-five years later, thanks to the activity of the zemstvos, these figures had been increased to 439 and 1,212. In 1856, in the thirty-four zemstvo governments, there were 29,420, with 1,800,900 pupils, or 1 to every 34 inhabitants, while in the other thirteen governments there were less than one-third of the number of schools and pupils, or 1 to every 65 inhabitants. In 1895, the item of public education in the zemstvo budget amounted to 9,327,000 rubles (\$4,663,500), or a little over 14 per cent. of the entire budget.

### THE ZEMSTVO AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

The greater part of the activities of the local self-governing bodies in Russia is taken up with the care of the public health and sanitation. While it was difficult for the bureaucracy to encroach upon the field of the zemstvo in this particular, there was still the ignorance and superstition of the people to be fought against. The success of the zemstvo in improving the public health cannot be overestimated. The hospitals in the zemstvo governments were left entirely to the care of this institution. In these governments, which had a population of sixty millions, before the zemstvo law came into effect, there were only 351 hospitals, with 11,581 beds, of which more than one thousand were insane patients. All of these, without exception, were situated in the cities; there was not one single hospital in the country districts, and the condition of all of them baffled description. The majority of the patients were either soldiers or political prisoners. In the country districts, the only medical aid given was by experienced drug-

gists. For the use of the country peasants, there were but two hundred sick-beds throughout the country. These were for the use of the government serfs. Those who were in slavery to the private landlords had no medical aid. The zemstvos immediately organized the entire system, establishing one method for the city and another for the country districts. By 1890, the zemstvos had built 6 new hospitals in the cities, increasing the number of beds to 17,900, while in the country districts 711 new hospitals were founded, with an aggregate capacity of more than nine thousand, and with traveling physicians in frequent attendance. There were over eighteen hundred of these physicians, and nearly seven thousand nurses. In 1893, the zemstvos maintained thirty-four asylums for the insane, with a capacity of over nine thousand.

#### ROADS AND OTHER PUBLIC WORKS.

By an imperial ukase of 1868, the zemstvo of one of the governments was privileged to assume the maintenance of all roads within its borders hitherto in the care of the state. The trial proved so successful that very soon other governments were permitted also to look after their own roads

and lay out a good many new ones. In 1895, the zemstvos expended 3,800,000 rubles (\$1,900,000) for the maintenance of roads.

The Russian zemstvos also took charge of many other public functions which are maintained by private enterprise in other countries. They purchase, for example, tools and the products of agriculture for the peasants. In many cities, also, they are in the business of bookselling—when the imperial censor will allow them. Fire insurance is also an important object of their activity; they act as insurance companies for the peasants.

This institution (the zemstvo), says the writer, in conclusion, has done much for self-government in Russia, much more than has the central government. It has been able to succeed despite the ignorance and inability of Russian officials. Moreover, the employees of the zemstvo differ entirely from the typical *chinovnik*, or Russian official, in that they are zealous and honest in their labors for the welfare of their country. Corruption is unknown among them. They are satisfied with modest positions and salaries, and have scarcely ever been convicted of "graft," like the average governmental official.

## THE AINUS, THE "HAIRY PEOPLE" OF JAPAN.

WHEN the ruling classes of the present Japanese people conquered the country, they found on Yezo, the most northern island of the empire, a peculiar people called the Ainus, commonly supposed to be the earliest inhabitants of the whole group, and already known then to the Chinese as the "hairy men." The remnant of this people to-day is found only in the northern part of Japan, and numbers, perhaps, fifty thousand souls. The Japanese generally look down upon the Ainus as an inferior people, and recently, when Prof. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, went to Japan for the purpose of engaging an Ainu family to exhibit at the St. Louis world's fair (he has given his impressions in a little book noted in this REVIEW for October, 1904), the Japanese authorities permitted him to carry out his project only on the promise that he would let the visitors to the fair know that the Ainus are not Japanese, but merely a people subject to the Mikado.

#### ARE THE AINUS A WHITE RACE?

Some interesting data about the Ainus is presented in a copiously illustrated article in a recent number of the *Open Court*. The writer of

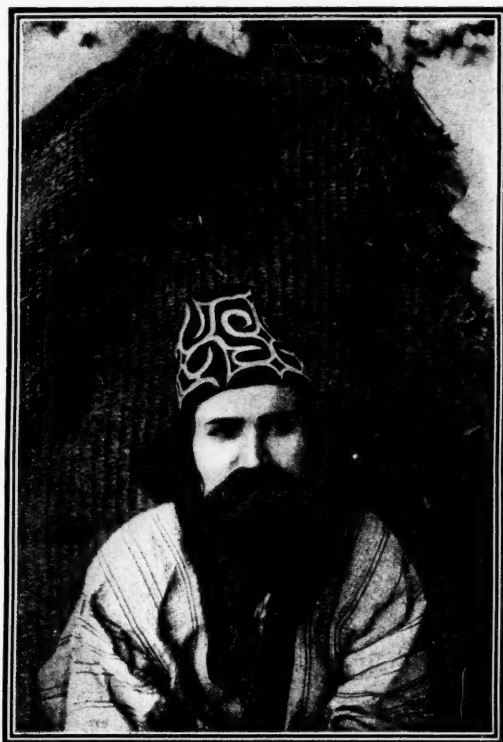


AINUS MAKING MATS.

the article (the editor of the *Open Court*), in noting the belief of scientists that the Ainus are a white race and nearer kin to Europeans than to Asiatics, expresses the opinion that they came to Japan from the continent of Asia,—perhaps from Siberia. In this connection, he points out the resemblance in features between the Russian peasant type and the Ainus. These people, he goes on to say, are, like the Russian peasants, a most inoffensive and peaceable folk. They are not nomadic, but live chiefly by hunting and fishing, and their principal accomplishments are weaving and wood-carving. In disposition they are good-natured, and so amenable that the Japanese Government, which, it must be confessed, is very considerate with them, has never had any trouble in ruling them. In physical appearance they are mild and attractive. One of those seen by Professor Starr had an almost Christlike expression in his eye, and, “so



OLD AINU MAN WITH INAO.



TYPICAL OLD AINU MAN.

far as exterior is concerned, he would certainly be a welcome candidate for the chief rôle at Oberammergau." The women, on the other hand, are noticeably different, and seem to be more of the Mongolian type.

#### CURIOUS RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES.

The Ainus are naturally devout, but their religion is a somewhat vague one. Many of its chief forms are expressed through their wood-carving. One of the characteristic carvings is that of the *inao*, a stick with a sort of mop-like mass of shavings at one end.

The shavings are frequently left hanging from the top of the sacred willow-stick, called *inao*, and this gives it something of the appearance of a mop. A large *inao* is kept constantly in the northeast corner of the house, whence it is never removed. It is called "the old man," and the Ainus dislike to speak on the subject, and regard it with great reverence. Other *inaos* are set up at places which they wish to consecrate,—at springs, at storehouses, or wherever they expect divine protection. These odd symbols seem to serve as guardians, and are supposed to be endowed with supernatural power. A sacred hedge, called *nusa*, is grown on the east side of Ainu dwellings; and Professor Starr advises foreigners never to meddle with either *inao* or *nusa*.

One of the peculiar characteristics of the Ainus is that they celebrate festivals in honor of animals, the most important of these being the bear. This animal seems to be regarded as an incarnation of the Deity, who assumes this visible form in order to furnish the Ainus with food and clothing. The Rev. John Batchelor,

missionary for many years in Yezo, declares that when a bear cub is captured by these people it is cared for with much ceremony and reverence. At a special feast, it is almost worshiped, and a prayer is addressed to it. Afterward the bear is led out to be killed, and, amid much dancing and feasting, its entire body is apportioned to various uses.

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN JAMAICA.

IF Mr. Rudyard Kipling was the first, he certainly was not the last, British writer to exhort the American nation to take up the "white man's burden." In the current number of the *International Quarterly*, Mr. Sydney Olivier, of the British colonial office, who has had much experience in the administration of the British West Indies, and who served for five years as colonial secretary of Jamaica, contributes a suggestive paper on the relations of the white, negro, and mixed populations of Jamaica. The aim of his article is evidently to show by the object-lesson method the changes which might profitably be adopted in the political relations of the races in our own Southern States. He declares that since the establishment of crown government in Jamaica the black population, as a class of the body politic, have had no acute grievance. The government of the island has been administered with a full regard to the rights and interests of the blacks, but with firm repression of any disorderly tendencies on their part.

While this writer admits that the civilization and morality of the Jamaica negro may not be high, he contends that he is on a much higher level than was his grandfather, the plantation slave, and his great-grandfather, the African savage. The negro in Jamaica, says Mr. Olivier, has thus far been raised, and a freedom of civic mixture between the races has been made tolerable by the continuous application of the theory of humanity and equality.

Equality in the essential sense of an endowment in the Infinite; a share, however obscure and undeveloped it may appear, in the inheritance of what we call Soul. Evangelical Christianity, most democratic of doctrines, and missionary education inspired and sustained by a personal conviction and recognition that, whatever the superficial distinctions, there is fundamental identity, and an equal claim of the black with the white to share, according to personal capacity and development, in all the inheritance of humanity,—these forces together have created the conditions most favorable to the uplift of the negro. Emancipation, education, identical justice, perfect equality in the law courts and in the constitution, whatever the law or the constitution might be, take away the sting of race difference;

and if there is race inferiority it is not burdened with an artificial handicap.

Mr. Olivier does not ignore the difficulties in the political aspect of the situation, nor does he venture to recommend any means for their solution. He admits that the recently emancipated slave is not qualified for political self-government in electoral institutions. He even goes so far as to say that the Jamaica negro of to-day, after two generations of emancipation, is not qualified for such self-government. A democratic representative constitution, based on manhood suffrage, would not be for the advantage of any class in any British West Indies community. He claims, however, for the British colonial system of administration that when property franchises and education tests are applied it is with absolute fairness between white and black. His own experience leads him to the conviction that no solution of color difference can be found except by resolutely turning the back to the color line and the race-differentiation theory. In the case of Jamaica, the religious formulas of the men who laid the foundations for the peaceful development of the mixed community there were democratic and humanitarian. No more than this, he insists, is required in regard to the temperamental attitude, but if the race-differentiation formula be held to, it will doubtless in time bring about civil war.

An important difference between the history of the negro race in Jamaica and in the United States is to be found in the political conditions under which the African stock has developed during the past forty years in the two countries. Emancipation was a generation earlier in the West Indies than in the United States, and the political conditions into which the emancipated negroes passed were very different. In Jamaica, they did not receive, in fact or in name, direct political power. This was limited by a substantial property tax. There was no great political revolution, and there was not created a new class of citizens permitted to enjoy the franchise without being qualified for its responsible or efficient exercise.



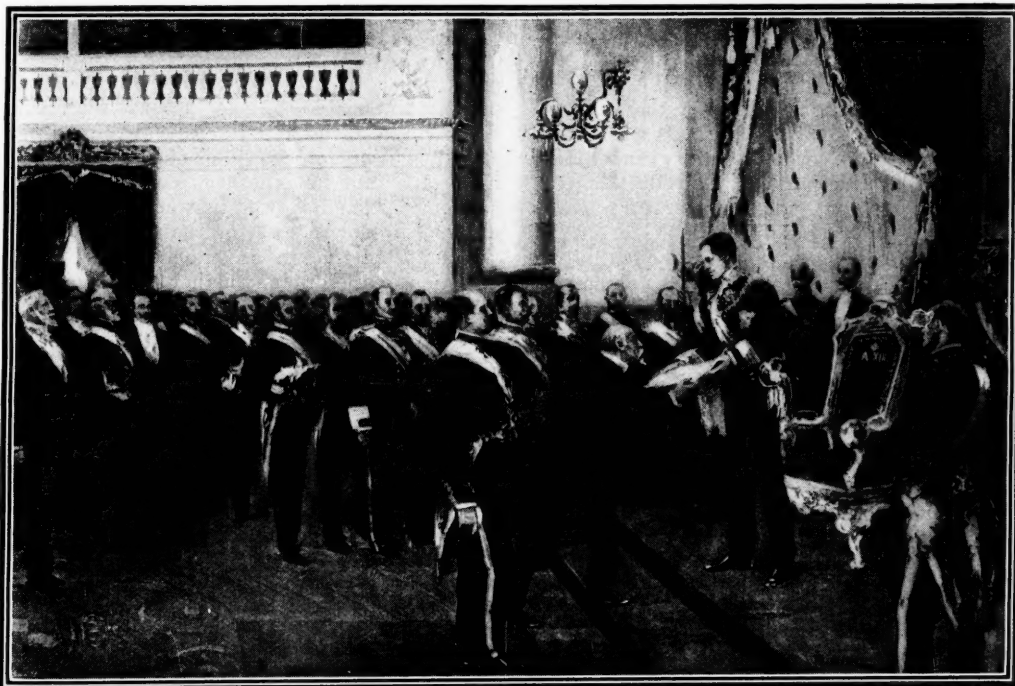
## SPAIN'S HOMAGE TO ECHEGARAY.

IN view of the fact that the Nobel Prize for literature has been awarded to the famous Spanish dramatist, José Echegaray, the Madrid illustrated weeklies *Blanco y Negro* and *Nuevo Mundo* each devote practically an entire number to Echegaray and give a great deal of interesting information concerning him and his work. The Nobel Prize, founded by the late Alfred Nobel, may be awarded only to the authors of "contemporary works of surpassing merit and productive of the greatest good to humanity." Echegaray, as the heir to the great and characteristic traditions of the Spanish drama, was thought worthy of the prize by the Swedish Academy, and it was presented to him by Baron Wedel, the Swedish minister at Madrid.

Echegaray is a man of most remarkable versatility. Besides being an eminent and world-renowned dramatist, he is an able mathematician and engineer. He was a member of the cabinet during the short life of the Spanish Republic, and is a poet and orator of no mean gifts. His dramatic works are many in number, almost all being tragedies. There is great diversity of opinion concerning the merits of these works, but they have certainly placed Echegaray well

in the foremost rank of contemporary playwrights.

*Blanco y Negro* publishes a number of short opinions from well-known Spaniards concerning Echegaray, and *Nuevo Mundo* gives some more detailed criticisms, some being reproductions of critical reviews of the first performances of Echegaray's dramas. Arrayed on the side of Echegaray is a host of able thinkers, backed by that rather indiscriminating but important factor in matters theatrical, the public. One of the dramatist's admirers calls him "the foremost brain in Spain;" another opines that "he belongs, not to Spain, but to the world." On the other hand, one hostile critic points out that Echegaray, the mathematician, is always at the elbow of Echegaray, the dramatist. Another remarks that he is ever an extremist,—that all his jealous characters are *Othellos*, all his lovers *Romeos*, and all his misers *Shylocks*. Menéndez Pelayo, one of Spain's best critics, declares that Echegaray's plays are filled with beings not of this world and are impelled by a most impious fatalism, while, finally, a facetious writer observes that the effect of an Echegaray drama is like that of a violent blow on the head. It cer-



KING ALFONSO, IN THE HALL OF THE SENATE, PRESENTING THE HOMAGE OF THE SPANISH NATION TO ECHEGARAY.

tainly causes one to see stars, but these stars are unreal and not worth the blow.

Echegaray certainly, however, received an unprecedented ovation on the occasion of the bestowal of the Nobel Prize. Acclaimed by an immense multitude, he stood with bared head before one of Madrid's great buildings and thanked his countrymen for the homage paid him. In the Madrid Ateneo, a literary celebration took place, over which the King presided in person. Eulogistic speeches were read by the famous Spanish novelists, Juan Valera and Perez Galdós, and Menéndez Pelayo himself, Echegaray's most uncomplimentary critic, stated that "for thirty years Echegaray has been the dictator, arbiter, and idol of the multitude a position impossible to attain without the strength of genius, which triumphs in literature as everywhere."

After describing the celebration in detail, *Blanco y Negro* and *Nuevo Mundo* publish a number of interesting articles concerning Echegaray. One of these tells of the most famous actors and actresses who have interpreted his plays, among whom are María Guerrero and Díaz de Mendoza, well known in the Spanish-speaking portions of the new world. Photographs are reproduced showing Echegaray at every age and at every important period of his varied career. A list of questions submitted to him by *Blanco y Negro* gave Echegaray a chance to show a good deal of genial wit in his answers. When asked, for instance, how he would prefer to die, he replied: "Not at all." To show his versatility, *Nuevo Mundo* publishes a prose tale, a dialogue from the drama "El Gran Galeoto," a scientific article, a political speech, a mathematical paper, and two poems, all by Echegaray.

## REGENERATION IN ANIMALS.

WITHIN the range of the animal and plant kingdoms there are many instances of most remarkable measures having been adopted for overcoming the great stress of conditions which must be met in a struggle for existence where some slight failure may mean death and success often depends upon the development of some unexpected, latent characteristic in the animal or plant.

Among the most interesting of these adaptations is the power some animals possess of maintaining their corporeal entity under difficulties by replacing parts of the body that may be lost by accident. This power of renewal, existing, in some cases, even to the extent of producing a new head when, as frequently happens in these lower walks of life, the animal has been deprived of that organ by belligerent companions or through some unavoidable contingency.

Seven original articles on regeneration in various animals are presented in the last number of the *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik der Organismen* (Leipsic), edited by the noted experimental biologist, Wilhelm Roux.

In order to study the power of regeneration in the crawfish, a large number of specimens were deprived of one leg and left for a couple of months to see if the appendage would be replaced. In a few of the crawfish, the appendage did not grow again; in others, a new one grew, perfect in form, but smaller, and several regenerated a perfectly normal leg, having the usual number of joints, with pincers at the end, as

well as the gill which is attached to the leg in the crawfish.

Snails, also, are able to replace lost parts to a certain degree. The soft tentacles on the head which may be extended or drawn in, and carry organs of special sense, are regenerated, with their sense organs, in a short time after being cut off.

Experiments made on various kinds of amphibian larvæ gave evidence against the theory held by Weismann and others that the regenerative power of an organ depends on its relative importance, and its exposure to injury or danger of being lost, and showed that neither one plays any rôle in the renewal of the organ, but that the important factors are the degree of differentiation of the organ, whether the animal has reached maturity or not, and whether it belongs to a highly specialized type. On the whole, the regenerative power seems to depend on the general degree of development. In the amphibia, the power of renewing an organ is lost at the time of changing from the larval to the adult form.

Since it has been found that the parts in the region of the bill, in birds, can be renewed after injury, the question arose as to whether there would be a corresponding renewal of organs having the same functions in the reptiles, which are very closely related to the birds.

Lizards of both sexes and of different ages were used in these experiments, the result of which showed that neither sex nor age is of importance in this case.

Certain bones were removed from the jaw, and it seemed to make a difference with the results obtained as to which bone was removed.

The bone that was removed is protected by a bony shield, normally, but after regeneration this shield was replaced by several small plates

of bone. This was interpreted as being a reversion to an ancestral type in which the armature of the head originated as numerous very small plates, which later on in the development of the race fused into the more substantial shields.

## WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD SPEAKER IN ENGLAND?

THE observations of Mr. Winston Churchill, the young English statesman, are always worthy of attention, but of especial interest are his views on the qualifications of the successful parliamentary and political speaker in modern England. These views are expressed at some length in the form of an interview reported by Mr. Herbert Vivian in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for April. Mr. Vivian calls his paper a John-sonian appreciation. Why, it does not clearly appear, although he concludes it with the following extraordinary sentence: "My only regret about him (Churchill) is that Disraeli did not live to be his Boswell." He prefixes to his paper the following quotation:

Sir, I love the acquaintance of young people; because, in the first place, I don't like to think myself growing old. In the next place, young acquaintances must last longest, if they do last; and then, sir, young men have more virtue than old men; they have more generous sentiments in every respect. I love the young dogs of this age; they have more wit and humor and knowledge of life than we had.—DR. JOHNSON.

Mr. Vivian is a prodigious admirer of the member for Oldham. He declares that "it is no exaggeration to say that since Mr. Gladstone, perhaps even since Mr. Pitt, there has been no more thorough parliamentarian." He went to see him in order to seek his advice and help in order to make his way into Parliament as an independent candidate who hoped to support his policy. Mr. Churchill gave him some very sound advice about the art of public speaking and the way to get the ear of the House of Commons. He told Mr. Vivian:

The House of Commons is the great leveler. To win its heart may not require the highest attainments or the noblest enthusiasms, but it pricks every bubble, it shatters every sham. The way to get on there is not to be a great orator, who has at his command those glowing periods which the populace can never resist. Indeed, the most successful demagogues have often proved the most abject failures when they rose to address Mr. Speaker. The only short-cut to the ear of the House is sober common sense, a business-like way of saying the right thing at the right moment, and a resolute avoidance of claptrap or gush. There is nothing the House likes so much as to be amused. So long

as you give it something fresh and unusual, it is always satisfied.

### LEARNING HOW TO MAKE POLITICAL SPEECHES.

He then went on to give Mr. Vivian the best of advice as to how to learn to speak. He said:

Get among the people as much as you can; they are in themselves a liberal education. You will find them kinder, more generous, more natural, more tolerant, and, on the whole, far quicker in their powers of observation than those who lead a lazy life. You must expect a certain amount of rough-and-tumble, not only in their manners, but in their ideas. Yet when you come to understand them you cannot help liking them, and you cannot help trusting them. Make a great number of speeches. Never mind if only a score of persons are present. Treat each of them as though he were a missionary to whom you were delivering a message which he should go forth and preach. You have no idea how large a number may be affected by the impressions you convey to a few. Also, if you are a good observer, you will learn as much by your speeches as you can hope to teach. Watch men's faces, and endeavor to realize how much and how little they understand, what amuses and interests them, what moves them to enthusiasm, and what leaves them listless or unmoved. Little meetings are the best practice of all, for they are the most difficult to wake up. Besides which, each affords you an entirely different audience, so that you may permit yourself to repeat the same speech over and over again, modifying and improving it as you go along. Do not deliver ambitious orations, full of epigrams, redolent of midnight oil, when twenty or thirty are gathered together without any reporters. Above all, do nothing rash. If you have unpopular opinions on topics of no immediate importance, nothing is gained and a great deal may be lost by thrusting your private judgment down unwilling throats. Be perfectly frank, but talk to people about what they want to know. After all, there are certain great issues before the country, and your business is to unite as many voters as possible on those issues. Your opponents will be quick enough to start any questions which are likely to provoke discord. Remember that you cannot afford to throw away a single vote.

But we must not exaggerate the importance of our ephemeral utterances. When I first began to make speeches, I was in a fever lest some one should haul me over the coals for a verbal or trivial contradiction. Then I soon found that the greater part of a speech goes in at one ear and comes out at the other. You can always silence a questioner, though it be only by a bad joke. Life would be too short if we had to set so rigid a watch upon our lips as all that.

## ITALIAN POLITICAL PARTIES TO-DAY.

IN the *Riforma Sociale* (Turin-Rome), Dr. Alessandro Schiavi makes a careful analysis of the last Italian elections, with numerous tables and diagrams covering every phase of their statistics. From this it is learned that a larger number of citizens voted in proportion to the population than in 1900, the last time there was a chance to vote, but the figures also show what an infinitely small proportion of the Italian population actually elects the Parliament. The total population, on July 1, 1904, was 33,346,514, of which number 8,711,512 were males of age, 4,891,530 of whom could read. The number of electors registered on November 6, 1904, was 2,541,327, and the number voting was 1,593,886. Thus, while only 7.62 per cent. of the population had a right to vote, only 62.72 of these electors took advantage of their rights. While the number of electors, according to literacy, decreases as we travel from north to south, the proportion of voters to electors increases in going from Venice down to the heel of Italy. This is because of the greater difference in the south between the educated voting class and the illiterate mass of the population, the smaller body of voters being more easily got to the polls and interested in the elections, and also having little of the laboring element in it.

Of the successful candidates, 418 belong to the three Conservative parties, being divided into Ministerial Conservatives, 339; Opposition Conservatives, 76, and Catholics, 3. The "popular parties" elected 90, of which 37 are Radicals, 24 Republicans, and 29 Socialists, the Conservatives gaining and the popular parties losing six members as compared with 1900. The Con-

servatives have, thus, 65.34 per cent. of the votes.

Analyzing the votes of the popular parties, it is found that the Socialists lose four Deputies and are checked in their steady increase in Parliament since 1892, while the Radicals gain three and the Republicans lose five seats. The Socialists, however, obtained more than two-thirds of the votes cast for the three popular parties, having 326,016 votes in all, a gain of 161,070 over that of 1900. Comparing the vote of 1904 with that of 1900, the Radicals have gained 42 per cent., the Republicans have lost 5 per cent., and the Socialists have gained 97 per cent. The Socialist gain has manifested itself quite differently from that of 1900. Then it was largely in the north and center; now it is in the south and the islands. This, Dr. Schiavi thinks, is due either to the greater susceptibility of the rural and southern population to active propaganda, or to the lack of the middle class that in 1900 supported the laborers in the struggle against reactionaries, but has now cooled in enthusiasm. Where the propaganda phase has ceased, the Socialists have this time often fought a bitter fight with the richer element, thus awakening the Conservatives and alienating the middle classes. The atmosphere of hostility in which the campaign was waged, while lending clearness and sincerity, and enabling a more exact judgment of the party strength, has lessened the prestige and the attractive force of the Socialist party. In connection with the analysis of the Socialist vote of Italy, Dr. Schiavi reproduces the table of the world's Socialist vote of the last two elections, from a Socialistic periodical, which we give below:

Country.	Year.	Votes.	Year.	Votes.	Elected		Total membership of Chamber.	Socialistic votes per 100 members.	
					previous election.	last election.			
Argentina.....	1900	27,607	1903	5,000	..	1	out of 86	..	1.1
Australia.....	1900	27,607	1903	66,926	..	3	..	..	..
Austria.....	1897	750,000	1901	780,000	..	10	..	363	3.6
Belgium.....	1902	467,000	1904	463,767	34	28	..	166	2
Bulgaria.....	1900	21,000	1903	9,000	7	..	..	56	1.2
Canada.....	1901	42,972	1903	8,025	..	..	..	..	..
Denmark.....	1901	42,972	1903	53,479	14	16	..	102	13.7
Finland.....	1898	790,000	1902	805,000	50	48	..	584	8.5
France.....	1896	2,107,076	1903	3,010,472	57	81	..	397	14.4
Germany.....	1895	55,000	1900	100,000	..	1	..	670	0.1
Great Britain.....	1900	164,946	1902	1,063	..	..	..	..	..
Ireland.....	1900	164,946	1904	326,016	33	29	..	508	6
Italy.....	1900	164,946	1903	326,016	..	5	..	..	5.7
Luxemburg.....	1900	7,440	1903	30,000	..	4	..	114	..
Norway.....	1897	13,500	1902	38,279	3	7	..	100	3
Holland.....	1895	50,000	1903	60,000	..	..	..	..	7.0
Servia.....	1901	25,400	1903	29,000	..	..	..	..	..
Spain.....	1902	223,903	1904	500,000*	..	..	..	..	..
United States.....	1900	10,000	1902	10,000	1	4	..	..	..
Sweden.....	1899	56,000	1903	63,000	4	7	..	145	2.7
Switzerland.....	1900	800	1900	800	..	..	..	..	4.8
Hungary.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

\* According to official figures, the American Socialist and Socialist-Labor vote combined in 1904 was 434,374.



## PÈRE LACOMBE, PRIEST AND HERO.

ONE of the old-time pioneer explorers, bravers of the wilderness of our great West, and venerated advance agents of the Christian religion, Père Lacombe, perhaps the last of the French explorer-priests, is the subject of a character sketch (in *Outing*) by Miss Agnes C. Laut. Père Lacombe, who has been a distinguished, unique figure for the past three-quarters of a century in the annals of the great Northwest of the United States and Canada, has just retired to a little home among the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Few makers of history, says Miss Laut, have, "by the mere lifting of a hand, been able to prevent massacres that might have wiped out the frontier of half a continent."

Few leaders have rallied half a hundred men to victory against a thousand through pitchy darkness, in the confusion of what was worse than darkness,—panic. And not every hero of victory can be the hero of defeat,—a hero, for instance, to the extent of standing siege by scourge, with three thousand dying and dead of the plague, men fleeing from camp pursued by a phantom death, wolves skulking past the wind-blown tent-flaps unmolested, none remaining to bury the dead but the one man whose hands are over-busy with the dying.

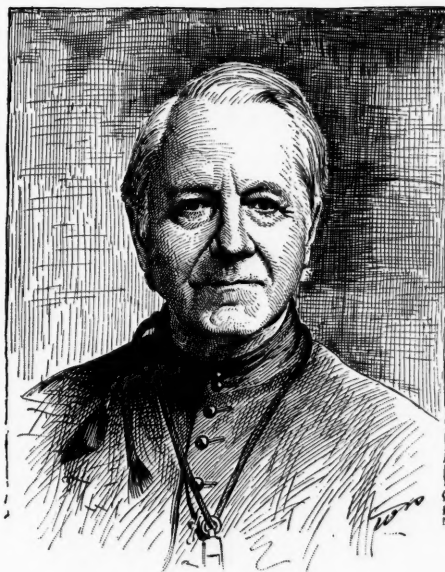
Father Lacombe is a priest, but to call him a priest would be misleading.

In these days of sentimental religion, with the abolition of the devil and a pious turning up of the whites of one's eyes to an attenuated Deity, priesthood is sometimes associated with a sort of anæmic goodness,—the man who sits in a cushioned study-chair. But Father Lacombe's goodness is of the red-blood type, that knows how to deal with men who think in terms of the clinched fist.

Miss Laut recounts, in her usual spirited style, Father Lacombe's work among the Blackfeet Indians during a plague of smallpox. She tells about the terrible experience suffered by the venerable father during the winters of '68, '69, and '70, when the Blackfeet were attacked by their allied enemies,—the Cree, Assiniboine, and Sautaux Indians. It was a terrible battle, and in it the brave priest was wounded while attempting to advance, holding the cross, to bring about a parley with the enemy. One illustration of the sweetness and vigor of the old man's character is given by Miss Laut. We quote it in her words:

Once, on such a journey southward over interminable snows, Father Lacombe had camped with his guide on the edge of a small woods. Both men were dead tired. Their snowshoes dragged heavily. Supper over, they spread their snow-logged garments to dry before the fire, prepared beds of spruce branches, and sat listening to that strange, unearthly silence of the snow-padded plains. The dogs crouched round asleep. The

night grew black as ink, foreboding storm. An uncanny muteness fell over the two. They knew they were eighty miles from a living soul; and the cold was terrific. There was no sound but the crackle of the fire, and an occasional splinter of frost-split trees outside. Suddenly the guide pricked up his ears, with dilated eyes intent. Faint, more like a breath of storm than a voice, came a muffled wail. Then, silence again, of very death. The men looked at each other, but didn't say anything. It was the kind of silence where you can hear your breath. Half an hour passed. There is no



PÈRE LACOMBE.

use pretending. The ozone of northern latitudes at midnight, eighty miles from a living soul, can prick your nerves and send tickles down your spine. You become aware that solitude is positively palpable. It's like a ghost-hand touching you out of Nowhere. You feel as if your own nothingness got drowned in an Infinite Almightiness. And it came again, out of the frost-muffled woods—the long, sighing wail.

"Alex, do you hear?"

"Yes," but he didn't want to.

"What is that?"

"Hare seized by owl."

"You think—that?"

"Yes," but he thought it weakly.

"Your hare has a human voice, Alex."

But Alex, who was visibly chattering, became voluble. Of course, it was a hare. He'd often remarked the resem— But the words died in a gulp of fright, and the guide got himself to bed in haste with the blanket robe over his head.

"Alex, your hare has a long life, *bien*? Listen! Do you hear? Get up! Some one has need of us! I'm going to see."

In vain Alex explained to the priest that the voice would only lead him to death in the woods, that it

came from the body of some brave buried among the branches of the trees in there, who was calling for the things his relatives had forgotten to place with the corpse.

"Then, I'll go alone," said Lacombe, "but you keep your gun ready; and if there is danger, I'll call you!"

And, surely, says the narrator, from a prudent point of view it was rash to follow a vague voice into unknown woods blanketed black with the thickness of intense frost. What was terrifying was that the groans seemed nearer than his own hands and feet—yet he could find nothing! Suddenly, he was aware of the warmth of cinders under his moccasins; and stooping, felt a voice in his very face. A human form lay wrapped in a buffalo robe across the dying camp fire.

"Speak! What are you?" he demanded.

"A woman with her child—lost. I could tramp no longer—my feet are frozen."

Calling the guide, the two men carried woman and infant to their tepee. She was little more than a child herself, and had evidently been outrageously beaten. Both feet required amputation. The priest learned that she had been cast off by her Cree husband, and had

gone forth from the camp to kill both herself and the child; but at the sound of its cry, her courage failed her. She could not do the act, and marched on and on, day after day, till the frozen feet could march no farther. Then, wrapping the child in her warmest clothing, she had gathered it close in her arms, spread the buffalo robe over herself, and lain down to die. But to this Hagar of the wilderness came also a visitant of mercy. When Father Lacombe wakened in the morning, he found that the guide had plied the woman with restoratives all night, wrapped her in robes, and placed her on the dog sleigh. The guide then hitched himself with the dogs to pull. Father Lacombe fastened the steering-pole behind to push; and so they took her to the mission house, hundreds of miles distant. On the way they came up with the Cree husband who had abandoned her. The man was dumfounded at the apparition.

"What!" he blustered. "I don't want this wife! You'd have done much better to have minded your own business and left her alone where she was, to die."

For just a second, the Man in Father Lacombe got the better of the Priest. I think if that Cree had waited he would have received all he needed.

"You miserable beast!" thundered Lacombe. "You don't think as much of your child as a dog of its pups! Get into that tent this minute and hide your dishonorable head, or—I will find some one to take care of her!"

## MUNICIPAL PURCHASE OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

THE municipal election in Chicago, last month, a full account of which appears elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, served to focus public attention on the question of municipal ownership; but, as the article on page 554 clearly demonstrates, the adoption of the policy of municipal ownership itself leaves important and difficult problems still to be solved. Two of these are discussed with some fullness in the April number of the *Arena* by Wolstan R. Brown. These are: first, the method of purchasing, on a basis fair to the present innocent holders and just to the citizens of the municipalities who may purchase these public corporations; second, the management of these corporations after they have become the property of the municipality. Mr. Brown's method would be to purchase the street-railroad, gas, and electric-light properties on a basis that would pay to the present holders the exact value of such properties as ascertained, say on the first day of January, 1905. To the objection that this method would mean the purchase by the community of watered securities from which certain individuals have reaped enormous profits Mr. Brown replies that this is the only fair means of acquiring public corporations that is feasible. Mr. Brown proceeds to describe his method of absorbing these properties in such a way that in

the end they will cost the citizens of the municipalities which buy them nothing at all.

We will suppose that the securities of the electric-light, gas, and street-railroad corporations of a certain town are valued at \$1,000,000, and that they are paying 5 per cent. on that amount of money borrowed,—that is, \$50,000 a year interest. These properties are purchased at that price by the municipality, and its bonds or guaranty are issued in place of the securities made by the corporations, and the rate of interest is reduced to 3 per cent., or \$30,000 a year, leaving \$20,000 a year saved at once by the purchase and ownership under the municipality. This sum of money compounded for twenty-five years would amount to \$1,000,000. In other words, the transfer from private ownership to public ownership has created a saving that in twenty-five years would pay for the entire cost of these properties. I feel quite certain that long before that period the economies in the management and the increase in business will warrant a reduction in the price of public service, both for gas, electric light, and street railroads.

Mr. Brown further proposes to establish a Municipal League, having branches in each city of the United States, with a head office either at Washington or some convenient point that may be chosen, where once a year a representation from each municipality may meet for general business, and where, every day, reports from the management of each municipality shall be forwarded, so that the average cost of management would be definitely known.

## ANOTHER "SOLUTION" OF THE RAILROAD QUESTION.

THE discussion of the railroad-rate problem has continued with unabated interest since the adjournment of Congress. Since the passage by the House of Representatives of the bill empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to revise rates upon complaint, subject to review by a court of transportation, various alternative schemes have been proposed by those who feel that the assumptions of the measure were too radical, or that such a system of rate-regulation fails to offer a reasonable or scientific solution of the real problem. Even before the passage of the rate bill by the House, Senator Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, had introduced into the Senate a joint resolution providing for the appointment of a special commission to form and report to Congress a national incorporation act, with the view to the unification and simplification of the railroad administration of the country. In the April number of the *North American Review*, Senator Newlands explains at some length the objects of his resolution, and states his reasons for thinking that his plan has superior advantages over that embodied in the legislation of the House of Representatives. The purposes which Senator Newlands seeks to accomplish are best stated in his own words:

1. The requirement that all railroads engaging in interstate commerce shall incorporate under a national law in accordance with certain conditions not only permitting, but favoring, the consolidation of railroads.

2. The valuation of all such railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a capitalization not exceeding such valuation.

3. The revision by the Interstate Commerce Commission of all rates, so applied as to yield an annual return of not less than 4 per cent. on such valuation.

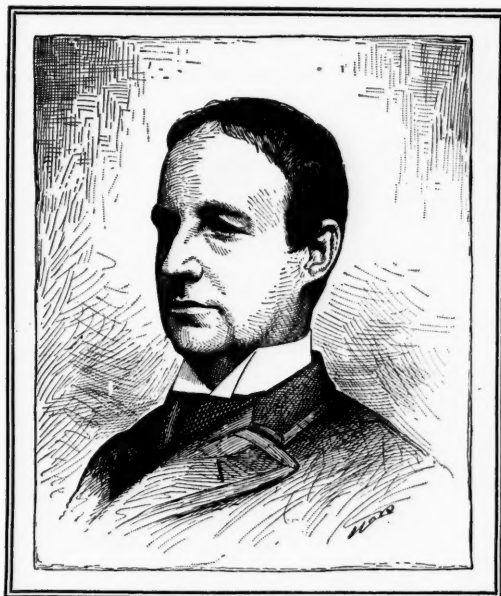
4. The exemption of railroad property, including stocks and bonds, from all taxes except a tax on gross receipts, such tax to begin at 3 per cent. and increase at the rate of one-fifth of one per cent. each year, until it reaches the maximum of 5 per cent. This tax to be collected by the Government, then distributed among the States and Territories on some equitable basis.

5. The creation of a pension fund for employees disqualified, either by injury or by age, from active service, by setting aside in the treasury a percentage of the gross receipts of the railroads.

6. The arbitration of all disputes between such railroad corporations and their employees as to compensation, hours of labor, and protection to life and limb.

## NATIONAL INCORPORATION.

At the beginning of his discussion, Senator Newlands makes it clear that the railroad, whether in the hands of the Government or of a private corporation, is a natural monopoly;



SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

that the trend of consolidation is the outcome of economic forces which are not to be controlled or appreciably impeded by legislation. He shows that the present system is complicated and expensive; that the bond and stock issues that the corporations now maintain, many of them unnecessarily, are confusing and perplexing alike to the investor, to the tax assessor, and to the rate-regulating commission. Senator Newlands contends that there should be a unity of ownership, recognized by the law, of such railroads as are now linked together in interstate commerce regardless of State lines. State legislation cannot accomplish this. Hence, the railroad corporations should be national, the creation of the Government, whose jurisdiction is as broad as interstate commerce itself. The power to create such corporations was exercised by the national government in the case of the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific companies. Senator Newlands would provide that the amount of stock and bonds issued for consolidation under the national law should be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that they should not exceed the actual value of the railroads consolidated. He believes also that future overcapitalization might be effectually prevented by requiring the commission's approval of all issues of bonds and stocks for the

purchase of connecting or intersecting lines, for the betterment of existing roads, and for the construction of new ones.

#### TO SIMPLIFY TAXATION.

Senator Newlands' plan has a distinct advantage in the matter of taxation. Railroads are now taxed under forty-five different systems embraced in the laws of as many States. There is no uniformity in this taxation. In some States, the roads are taxed upon gross receipts; in others, on the valuation of track, and real and personal property; while in others, franchises are included. The laws of many States also permit taxation of bonds and stocks in the hands of holders, thus producing a form of double taxation. Senator Newlands criticises this present system as crude and chaotic, and argues that since the amount of taxes paid is one of the vital factors in determining the net earnings of the property, there can be no scientific basis for fixing dividends while such a system prevails. His own method would be to exempt all railroad property, including bonds and stocks, from all taxation, except a tax on gross receipts to be collected by the national authorities and distributed among the States in proportion to mileage or volume of business. Thus, stockholders and bondholders would be relieved of double taxation, and would secure absolute uniformity in railroad taxation throughout the land. It appears that the total taxation of all the roads during the past year amounted to about fifty-eight million dollars, estimated to be equal to about 3 per cent. on the gross receipts. Senator Newlands would take this percentage as a starting-point, and would provide that taxes should be gradually increased at the

rate of one-fifth of one per cent. per annum until they reach a maximum of 5 per cent. on the gross receipts. With the present earnings, this would yield about eighty million dollars per annum; but, since earnings are rapidly increasing, the States would ultimately receive, under this arrangement, much more than their present revenue, without the expense of collecting it.

#### ADDED SECURITY FOR THE RAILROADS.

Another advantage that Senator Newlands thinks would arise from the adoption of this policy would be the elimination of the railroad as a factor in politics. He declares that the uncertainty and the insecurity of the situation in which the railroads find themselves placed to-day compel them to go into politics. Railroad property is between the upper and the nether millstones—the rate-regulating power and the taxing power. Hence, the railroads take part in the election of officials whose duties are likely to trench in any degree upon the taxing or rate-regulating power.

Senator Newlands argues that since rate-regulation means the limitation of dividends upon railroad investments,—in a sense an invasion of property rights,—there should be a concession of compensating advantages. That is to say, when the public limits the dividends upon a given investment, the public ought to secure these dividends. This is what would result, he claims, from the operation of his proposed plan. Virtually, the nation would guarantee a certain rate of interest upon the investment. This policy, in the opinion of Senator Newlands, would give the country nearly all the benefits of government ownership of railroads, with none of its dangers.

### ARE MEN TOO OLD AT FORTY?

THE remarks by Dr. Osler on the comparative uselessness of old men, from which we quoted in our April number, have produced no little stir in England. Mr. Andrew Lang, writing in *Longmans* "At the Sign of the Ship," says he hopes that "America will not revive the alleged savage habit of putting old gentlemen up trees, singing 'the fruit is ripe!' shaking the tree, and clubbing the aged one when he tumbles down." He ventures, however, to question the soundness of the dictum. Even in America, men do good work in literature, science, and art after forty.—Mark Twain, for instance. In the old world, says Mr. Lang,

I fancy that Titian, at seventy, had nothing to fear

from the competition of any of our young portrait painters. Mr. Watts, in his day, was probably the best of our painters long after he was seventy. In poetry, Sophocles wrote the "Edipus Coloneus" in extreme old age, and it has for many centuries outlived the forgotten works of the younger dramatists who were carrying off the prizes in the dramatic competitions. Tennyson, when about eighty, wrote "Crossing the Bar;" and Pindar, when as old, wrote, I am informed, a deathless lyric, which, alas! I have never perused. Milton can have been no chicken when he finished "Paradise Lost." In fiction, Scott commenced novelist after he was forty, and could have gone on delightfully as long as he had health. He knew too much of books and life to write himself out. There is a lady novelist among us who, though the remark is ungallant, certainly is not under forty, and who seems to improve in her art and advance in public favor as years roll on.



As to science, Helmholtz, I understand, took it up when "you would look at him often before you took him for a chicken." Mr. Darwin was not under forty when he wrote the "Origin of Species." Mr. Huxley never fell off, and Lord Kelvin disproves the dictum of the American philosopher. In history, Carlyle had well passed the fatal age when he gave birth to his "Frederick the Great," one of the most delightful books in the world. Horace Walpole never fell off as a letter-writer, though he did fall in love very late in the

day; and John Knox (who also fell in love) was far over forty when he wrote his entertaining "History of the Reformation." Mr. Froude's writing, to the last, was exactly as good as ever; and so one could go on with instances to prove that there is more blood in the old man than our American philosopher thinks. Still, for novels and poetry, I do prefer the young ones, and for journalism of the up-to-date kind they must be excellent, older men being guilty of good taste and averse from frivolous stupidities.

## APPRENTICESHIP IN AMERICA.

ONE of the questions that must have occurred to every one who has given any thought to modern industrial problems relates to the sources from which American skilled workers are to be drawn in the future. A related question is, How are these workers to be trained? In the April number of *Cassier's Magazine*, Mr. Frank T. Carlton briefly discusses "The Apprenticeship Question in America." He points out that the introduction of minute division of labor, the extreme specialization of classes of labor, and the growth of the large shop as contrasted with the small general shop have greatly reduced the opportunities for acquiring the thorough knowledge of a trade. Up to recent times, the skilled workers employed in American industrial establishments have been drawn, as a rule, from two sources,—the small shop, and immigration from Europe. But the small shop is now rapidly disappearing, while the character of our immigration is quite as rapidly changing, so that skilled workers can no longer be supplied in such numbers from England, Germany, and Sweden.

About eight years ago, an investigation was made of 116 industrial establishments in the United States,—engine works, tool factories, electrical shops, and railway repair shops. Out of a total of 116, it was found that 85, or about 73 per cent., took apprentices. In 1902, another investigator found that about 65 per cent. took apprentices. Railway shops are invariably in favor of a thoroughgoing apprentice system. The usual rule is one apprentice for every shop, and one extra apprentice for every additional five journeymen after the first five. The customary term of apprenticeship is four years. The company usually agrees that the apprentice shall be advanced from machine to machine, or from job to job, as fast as practicable or desirable.

As Mr. Carlton very clearly shows, apprenticeship is desirable chiefly for two reasons,—to furnish an adequate supply of skilled men, and to maintain and improve the character and efficiency of workmen. If, however, less than

three-fourths of the important establishments employing machinists take apprentices, it is not probable that a sufficient supply of skilled men will be furnished to satisfy future requirements.

Mr. Carlton proposes, as a remedy for the situation in America, a combination of school and shop training. In some shops, a foreman of apprentices is employed, whose duty it is to see that the boys are shifted from one machine, or one department, to another at the proper time. School training is given in night schools which try to round out and complete the shop instruction. An apprentice system such as several well-known firms have already established, coupled with public instruction in the evenings or on Saturday afternoons, is believed by many to be superior to the trade school. A suitable ratio between apprentices and journeymen may be roughly calculated by comparing the number of males in the United States of apprentice age,—that is, from sixteen to nineteen years,—with the total number of males of journeyman age of twenty to thirty years, inclusive. The ratio thus indicated is approximately 1 to 5, but, if allowance be made for a probable growth in the industry, it seems to Mr. Carlton that a ratio of 1 to 4½ would not be excessive and would not lead to an over-supply of apprentices.

### A LESSON FROM JAPAN.

An American writing from Japan calls attention to the fact that Japan has no apprenticeship system. "No one ever learns a trade, or even in the course of time comes to thoroughly understand the work of his trade in all its branches. The demand for skilled or even half-skilled labor is always in excess of the supply. For instance, it took about two years to build a stone bridge of only one arch over a shallow creek only sixty-five feet wide, in Shimbashie, Tokio, and about the same time to build a similar bridge at Nihoubashi, Tokio, over a creek only a few feet wider." It can hardly be doubted that the lack of skilled men, and of opportunity to train such men, will prove a great handicap to Japan.

## SOCIALISM AND UNIVERSAL PEACE.

IN an article on "Italian Socialism and the Armed Nation," in the *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), Signor A. Mosso discusses various theories and propositions referring to the Italian army. He says that after talking with the chiefs of Italian socialism he concludes that they have no clear and practical plan to supply the lack of a standing army. They simply state that natural social evolution tends toward collectivism, and that through this must inevitably come universal peace. Since they argue largely from biological, evolutionary premises, it is fair to ask them if national race characteristics are to disappear or to become more marked. Recent conflicts do

cialism is the least so, and the proletariat, dazzled by rapid and colossal commercial gain, does not long for an economic régime that shall close the path of fortune-seeking.

Signor Mosso shows that the German Socialists maintain an entirely different attitude toward the army from that of the Italians. Herr Bebel recently declared in the *Reichstag*, "We Socialists are the true patriots, and Germany will find no better defenders and soldiers than we in a defensive war." Whole battalions and regiments of the German army are composed of Socialists, especially in Saxony, and yet there are never such disorders as sometimes occur

among Italian conscripts, even though discipline is stricter and the officers mostly nobles. In Germany, socialism cannot be revolutionary, because that would repress expansion, which is the life of the German people. "In Italy, the Socialists try to show the uselessness of the army and the damage it works to the nation by saying that bayonets and cannon serve only to prop the throne, and should this fall, the military fabric, which has cost so



"Now, if any one accuses us of wishing to break the peace, we will be able to stop the calumny."—From *Le Rire* (Paris).

not indicate the disappearance of race hatreds. The lessons of history and of present experience are contrary to the hope of universal peace, this writer thinks. He continues:

Economic facts are taking such a preponderating place that their action becomes a disturbing cause more impelling to war than were thirst for riches and eagerness for conquest in the military society of the times of absolutism. The history of the future will, unfortunately, perhaps, be woven with battles more bloody than those of past centuries. It will be no longer the struggle of social classes for the satisfaction of their interests, but it will be a more terrible struggle of peoples with the same intent of economic interest. Thus speak those who fear the future; but there is something reasonable in this timidity.

He says that even Marx admits that nations are divided economically into those which have abundant natural means of subsistence and those which have riches by means of labor. The latter being the most active, exhausting the soil by culture, attack those who are less advanced. Socialism has a great enemy in individualism, and this finds its greatest development in the modern democracies. In England and the United States, where the laborers are the most powerful, so-

many millions, would dissolve rapidly."

Against the socialistic urging to have Italy lead in disarmament the writer quotes the French Socialist Millerand. "Up to the time, to-day unknown, when governments will agree to diminish simultaneously the weight of military institutions, the partial disarmament of one nation would be worse than madness. It would be a crime against that ideal which the Socialists are the first to acclaim in the image of France."

Signor Mosso points out that Italy, the youngest nation, must pass through the same phases as Germany and France. Anti-militarism began in France in 1866, after the battle of Sadowa; in Italy, in 1898, with Guglielmo Ferrero's book, "Militarism," which had little effect, and whose statements were knocked all awry by our Spanish-American War, which he predicted would not occur. Signor Mosso witnessed the Dewey parade at New York, and cites this and President Roosevelt's book, "The Strenuous Life," now accessible in Italian, as evidence that the United States is preparing for the conquest of the world. "Roosevelt would reprove the Italian people for losing the bellicose spirit."

## THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

THAT much-debated question, How far is the Christian Church responsible for the solution of social problems? forms the theme of an article contributed to the current number of the *International Quarterly* by Dr. Washington Gladden, the moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches, whose recent protest against the acceptance of the Rockefeller gift by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions precipitated much discussion last month.

In this paper, Dr. Gladden is chiefly concerned with the attitude of the Church toward the general problem of poverty. He thinks that there should be a closer and more sympathetic relation between the churches and the public institutions, but that in the work of outdoor relief the churches should find their greatest opportunity. That is to say, the work of caring for the poor in their homes should be done by the churches, allied with and under the direction of the Associated Charities, the aim of which is to give aid in such a way as to strengthen and not undermine the manhood of those receiving it.

In a few cities attempts have been made to bring the churches together, using the office of the Associated Charities as the clearing-house of the churches engaged in charitable work. Dr. Gladden admits that for the accomplishment of this there would be necessary, on the part of many churches, "a considerable change in their conceptions of their business in the world, and a revolution in their sentimental and slipshod methods of dispensing charity." He thinks, however, that the adoption of such methods by the churches would be a more recognizable imitation of Christ than much of the work in which they are now employed. It would give the churches an access to the poorest classes and an influence over them which they ought to covet, even though the assumption of such tasks should have no immediate tendency to swell the membership rolls or increase the income.

Dr. Gladden fully recognizes the truth that while the relief of destitution is important, and the Church should share in this work, it is not wise to rely on any form of relief measures for a solution of the problem. The immediate causes of poverty must be sought out and attacked. As a summary of these causes, Dr. Gladden adopts a statement of necessary reforms given by Robert Hunter in his recent book on "Poverty."

They would make all tenements and factories sanitary; they would regulate the hours of work, especially

for women and children; they would regulate and thoroughly supervise dangerous trades; they would institute all necessary measures to stamp out unnecessary disease and to prevent unnecessary death; they would prohibit entirely child labor; they would institute all necessary educational and recreational institutions, to replace the social and educational losses of the home and the domestic workshop; they would perfect, as far as possible, legislation and institutions to make industry pay the necessary and legitimate cost of producing and maintaining efficient laborers; they would institute, on the lines of foreign experience, measures to compensate labor for enforced seasons of idleness due to sickness, old age, lack of work, or other causes beyond the control of the workman; they would prevent parasitism on the part of either the consumer or the producer, and charge up the full costs of labor to the beneficiary, instead of compelling the worker at certain times to enforce his demand for maintenance through the tax rate and by becoming a pauper; they would restrict the power of employer and of shipowner to stimulate for purely selfish ends an excessive immigration, and in this way to beat down wages and to increase unemployment.

## THE CHURCH MUST EDUCATE THE PUBLIC.

Commenting on this reform programme, Dr. Gladden says:

There may be items in it at which the judicious would hesitate; but it points out some of the most efficient causes of poverty, and some of the indispensable remedies. It is idle to think of meeting the demands of humanity by any imaginable system of relief while these mills of cruelty and greed are grinding out their fearful grist of destitution and helplessness.

More people are killed in a year in this country by railway accidents than were killed on both sides in the three years of the Boer war. Thousands of families thus bereaved are reduced to poverty; and a large share of these accidents are preventable.

Tuberculosis slays every year 150,000 people in the United States, and its annual cost to the nation is estimated at \$330,000,000. The amount of poverty caused by this terrible destruction of human life is vast, and a very large part of this is preventable.

The ruin of health in unsanitary tenements is another great cause of poverty; and the community has the power to prevent this evil.

It is the business of the Church to educate the community upon all these subjects. She has no more urgent business. She must not stand and look on while such tremendous forces are at work destroying the bodies and the souls of men. She is here in the world to save men, and she needs a larger understanding of what that means. She must learn to read her commission in the light of the twentieth century and in the terms of modern social life. Where else shall we look for an authoritative and commanding interpretation of the ethics of the new industry and of the existing social order?

If the Church cannot do this work, she has no business in this world. If she unfits herself for it by taking bribes of tainted money she ought to perish with her money, and she will.

## THE UNITED STATES AS A PACIFIC POWER.

IN the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Mr. E. Fitger gives a well-written retrospective and prospective survey of the situation in the far East, in its broad outlines. The objective point of the article is a characterization of the balance of power on the Pacific as it is likely to exist after the close of the present war, whether in the event of a Japanese or of a Russian victory. As to the prospects of either of these conclusions, the writer holds the scales even, hardly going beyond the obvious fact that if the Baltic fleet were to inflict a decisive defeat upon the Japanese navy the result would be fatal to the hopes of the island power, while in the opposite and more probable event Russia would have to fall back upon land operations exclusively, with the outcome doubtful. This point, however, is touched upon only after a comprehensive though concise survey of the history of the situation, as affected by all the movements bearing on it from the acquisition of California by the United States, in 1848, and the Russian move to Vladivostok, in 1860, down to the Boxer agitation of 1900 and the consequent Russian encroachment in Manchuria, the direct parent of the present war.

The feature of most salient interest in the article is the estimate with which it closes of the parts that are to be played in the domination of the Pacific by the three powers which, after the close of the war, are to be the ruling factors upon that ocean. After setting forth the terms—as they are currently understood—which either of the two belligerents would be likely to exact from the other as the prize of victory, the writer terminates his paper with the following conclusion, which, as we have stated, is evidently the objective point of his article:

The development of Great Britain and the United States looms up as the constant factor in the relations of the Pacific, that of Russia or Japan as an uncertain one. Of those two powers, Great Britain is at present, undoubtedly, the better equipped, while the United States may go on steadily developing its strength and the British, preoccupied with so many other interests, be unable to keep pace with it. In his recent administrative report, the American Secretary of the Navy calls special attention, and justly so, to the fact that no navy in the past year (1903-04) floated so many new men-of-war as did the American. The abundance of American pecuniary resources, and the fact that it is not requisite to maintain a large army in the United States, favor the growth of the navy. England, so irritable at the far smaller augmentation of the German fleet, submits to the increase of American naval power without any parley; evidently, she has reconciled herself because she is powerless to oppose it. Should the American navy continue its increase, it will, at the time the Panama Canal is opened, be the most formidable power in the Pacific Ocean. Even Japan, though she should be vic-

torious, crippled as she would be by the war, will not be able to compete with America. How pronounced is the inclination of the United States,—that is, of the present predominant Republican party, which has become overwhelmingly powerful through the Presidential election of November 8, 1904,—to play a leading rôle in the political concerns of the Pacific is evidenced by the speech which President Roosevelt delivered at Watsonville, Cal., in the beginning of May, 1903. Although this speech announced the end of English predominance, the English press remained silent.

Ever since the beginning of the Russian development of power in the Pacific, the writer continues, the British colonies of Australia have looked with concern at the appearance of foreign cruisers in their harbors and at the danger to which the British flag might thereby be exposed. Pursuant, therefore, to a recent conference held by delegates with the cabinet at Westminster, it was agreed that in consideration of a contribution by Australia of £122,000 sterling the British admiralty should engage to permanently furnish the squadron there with five swift cruisers and five torpedo boats. At various points, among others the important Torres Strait, the colonies were to provide the fortifications and their garrisons, while the mother country would furnish the armament. The danger from Russia, we are told further, can recur only from a victory over Japan.

Should Russia, on the other hand, be the vanquished party, the rise of Japanese power must be reckoned with as a possible menace. It has been more than once pointed out that so rich a possession as the Sunda Islands in hands as weak as those of Holland might well prove a temptation to the Japanese. Many voices, and English ones among the number, have given emphatic expression to the opinion that a brilliant victory on the part of Japan could not be in the interest of England and the rest of Europe from a military, a political, or an economic standpoint. A Japanese protectorate of China would, they say, be a great evil. Even should that evil be counterbalanced by the desire of having a constant and powerful adversary of Russia in eastern Asia, the former consideration will nevertheless assume greater moment. The greater Japan's growth as a dominating power, the more complete her predominance, the more will antagonisms arise between Japan on the one side and England and the United States on the other.

One thing, at any rate, appears to evolve itself clearly, says this writer, in conclusion,—the United States, Great Britain, and, as a third power, Japan or Russia, will constitute the three nations among which the Pacific equilibrium is to be established, the United States, it would seem, having the best chance of future predominance. Germany and France must remain far behind, because they are materially hampered by European policies.



## THE PRESENT TEMPER OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE TOWARD THE WAR.

"AT what happy date will come the end of the present war? And what is the outlook of the campaign? These are the questions which are absorbing our interest. Clearly it has been stated in the great imperial rescript declaring the war,—that the hostilities shall not cease till the object shall have been attained." So opens the article by Ichiro Yamada in the *Taiyo* on the attitude and temper of the Japanese people at present toward the struggle. He criticises in no gentle manner the advocates of two rather prevalent views, both of which are extreme. One of them is to force the situation to a peace conclusion, putting but little emphasis on the peace terms Japan should dictate to Russia, and the other is to prolong the war as long as Russia sees fit to hold out against Japan; and as for the military operations, Japan should push her forces to a certain geographical point, say Baikal or Harbin, and there take leisurely defensive measures, and so convince Russia that she is no match for Japan even at that favorite Fabian game of hers when she is dealing with a foe some six thousand miles from her home base. Mr. Yamada continues:

Now that we have started upon this war, and while the state of war continues, it goes without saying that we ought to have a well-defined determination to carry it to such time and to such end the importance of attaining the which has driven us to this extreme measure. At the same time, we should by no means be found laggards in considering the means of bringing it to a close as early as possible. We ought, therefore, to have at one and the same time an unflinching patience and persistent endurance to prosecute the war, on the one hand, and a live, alert, and aggressive initiative to bring about the satisfactory end. To the fine calculating conservatism must be wedded daring audacity if we would accomplish the end in view.

Mr. Yamada summarizes what he considers to be the wishes and attitude of the larger public of Japan under the following headings:

1. As to the military operations, we ought with grace to put our entire faith in the ability of the specialists who are at the helm of affairs at the front. At the same time, one can hardly disguise the regret felt by men at home and our friends abroad that the battle of Liao-Yang, great as unquestionably was the victory, was at the same time rather barren of fruits of a decisive nature. The battle has passed into history; there is no need of the waste of words upon it. As for the operations of the future, may we not wish that our commanders would not think too timidly as to the waste of men and munitions, that while they would carry on

their siege and enveloping operations with their wonted care and minuteness they would at the same time be savage in the fierceness with which they would pursue the enemy after the action, and that the result of it all would be the rooting out of the hostile force?

2. In the world of diplomacy, our diplomatists have been weighed in the balance and found wanting more than once. It is our opinion that this unbroken record of diplomatic failures and humiliations for our country is not necessarily because of the lack of ability on the part of our diplomatists. Decidedly, they have all erred on the side of being ultra-conservative. Thinking so much of the future good-will of our friends of the West, or of our neighbors in the far East, they seem to have been over-timid in their dealings. With the conclusion of the war,—aye, even now,—the supreme opportunity for the diplomatists of Nippon is with them of striking out upon a new and bolder path. Let them, by what they do at this critical day of the life of our nation and of our diplomatic career, command the respect of our friends, England and America; to them is also given a splendid chance to treat with France and Germany in a way that would not make for either the laughter or the comfort of Russia. Let them remember that the nation looks to them to force our enemy into the cheerless state of standing alone. It is high time, also, to revise the ultra and almost absurdly gentlemanly diplomacy of the past toward Korea and China.

3. To our financiers is given a work quite as delicate and difficult as the military and diplomatic sides of the situation. The increase of the internal taxes is a very small factor in the solution of the war expenditure. In the handling of our finance, the sobriety and daring of our government would, if possible, be more severely taxed than in the diplomatic and the military operations. The Baltic squadron was haunted with the nightmare of the presence of our torpedo boats in the waters of the North Sea; it has been credited in rather serious circles in Russia and Europe that our government was furnishing the funds for the strikers at St. Petersburg. So absurd are these imputations that they hardly call for serious refutation. At the same time, the mere fact that these wild rumors succeed in finding a more or less wide currency speaks well for the enterprise of the Japanese financiers and tacticians. We sincerely pray that they may justify the reputation with a soberer yet quite as daring an enterprise in the future.

The writer concludes by declaring that "the way before Japan stretches far; it calls for persistent patience and long endurance,"—so ran the imperial rescript.

Let us not misinterpret it; let us not understand by it that it is the imperial pleasure for us to assume a passive attitude and thereby prolong the struggle through weary years as best we may and wait for the decision of nature and the natural adjustment of things. Let us be as aggressive in bringing about peace as we are determined to be in prosecuting the war, and thereby answer even in a measure to the august pleasure of our sovereign prince.

## WHY GERMANY SHOULD HAVE A GREAT NAVY.

IN an exhaustive review of the history of German naval activity during the entire life of the present German Empire, a Norwegian writer, who does not sign his name (in a paper in the *Kringsjaa*, of Christiania), finds fault with German diplomats and the German press for letting the rest of the world know the secrets of German statecraft, much to the detriment of German world-influence. He reminds us that the first German naval bill was passed in 1898, calling for nineteen battleships and forty cruisers. Two years later, the second naval bill was presented, providing for thirty-eight battleships and fifty cruisers. The policy of the empire was obviously directed toward the acquisition of colonies, and the eyes of its statesmen were at first turned toward Brazil, almost the whole industry of which had been capitalized by German bankers. At this point, however, declares the writer, the Germans began to talk too much and too openly. This resulted in the launching of an imperialistic policy in the United States and a vigorous re-statement of the Monroe Doctrine. Then the Germans turned their attention to South Africa, and it was "their intention to establish in that part of the world a great Teutonic empire in conjunction with the two Boer republics." Again they made the same mistake,—their newspapers and magazines began to publish statements about this intention, declaring that nothing could hinder the success of the enterprise. All this led to the Boer war.

Still another result of Germany's aggressive naval programme, this Norwegian writer believes, is the cordial understanding now existing

between England and France. Germany is still weak compared with these two powers, but "comforts herself with the thought that her latest ships are better than those of the other powers, and, furthermore, that the training of her sailors is superior to that of any other state." The superiority of the British navy, however, remains a great danger to Germany.

England's aggressive policy is well known. By degrees, the English have destroyed all rival fleets,—the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and the Danish. In 1807, their ships appeared outside of Copenhagen and compelled the Danes to surrender their whole navy,—eighteen ships of the line and fifteen frigates. By the recent understanding with France, England is enabled to withdraw some of her best ships from the Mediterranean for the purpose of strengthening the North Sea squadron, and the English press is jubilant. The British fleet could, in case of war, blockade the entire German coast, and, thanks to wireless telegraphy, need not risk a battle. Germany knows that the food-supply of Norway may be cut, and that the strong coast fortifications of Copenhagen will no longer save that city from long-range artillery. That she realizes the peril of her situation is evident from the fact that a new naval bill, fixing the fighting strength of the empire at forty-eight battleships and seventy cruisers, to be ready in 1914, has been presented and doubtless will be passed.

Is it any wonder, this writer asks, in conclusion, that Germany is looking for allies? In Berlin, "they have entirely forgotten the high American tariff wall against German industry, and we hear nothing but pleasant words about the American people and President Roosevelt. There is, indeed, no longer any need for worry in Washington."

## JOHN MORLEY ON DEMOCRACY.

"THESE meditative musings of a reviewer" is the happy phrase by which Mr. Morley describes the charming discursive essay which he has contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* on Mr. John A. Hobson's "International Trade." This time he has made the book a starting-point for his leisurely saunter around his library, and we have as the result a philosophic discourse upon many themes, illustrated by many extracts from many books. It is as entertaining, suggestive, almost as bewildering, as one of Emerson's essays.

## THE ESSENTIAL FAITH OF LIBERALISM.

After some preliminary disquisition upon democracy and liberalism, Mr. Morley says:

If we were asked what is the animating faith, not

only of political liberalism all over the civilized world to-day, but also of hosts of men and women who could not tell us of what school they are, the answer would be that what guides, inspires, and sustains modern democracy is conviction of upward and onward progress in the destinies of mankind. It is startling to think how new is this conviction,—to how many of the world's master-minds what to us is the most familiar and most fortifying of all great commonplaces was unknown. Scouring a library, you come across a little handful of fugitive and dubious sentences in writers of ancient and medieval time. Bacon's saying, also to be found a long time earlier in Esdras, about antiquity of time being the world's youth, was, as everybody knows, a pregnant hint, but it hardly announced the gospel of progress as now held by most English-speaking persons. Modern belief in human progress had no place among ideals even in the eighteenth century, if we take Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, for their exponents; and

Rousseau actually thought the history of civilization a record of the fall of man. Turgot, followed by his faithful disciple Condorcet, first brought into full light as a governing law of human things the idea of social progress, moral progress, progress in manners and institutions. It was events, as is their wont, that ripened the abstract doctrine into an active moral force.

Define it as we may, faith in progress has been the mainspring of liberalism in all its schools and branches. To think of progress as a certainty of social destiny, as the benignant outcome of some eternal cosmic law, has been indeed a leading liberal superstition,—the most splendid and animated of superstitions, if we will, yet a superstition after all. It often deepens into a kind of fatalism, radiant, confident, and infinitely hopeful, yet fatalism still, and, like fatalism in all its other forms, fraught with inevitable peril, first to the effective sense of individual responsibility, and then to the successful working of principles and institutions of which that responsibility is the vital sap.

#### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

This general belief in progress found its first commanding expression in the American Declaration of Independence. Mr. Morley says:

It is circumstance that inspires, selects, and molds the thought. The commanding novelty in 1776 was the transformation of general thought into a particular polity; of theoretic constructions into a working system. Republic became a consecrated and symbolic ensign, carried with torches and flags among the nations. To-day, it is hard to imagine any rational standard that would not make the American revolution,—an insurrection of thirteen little colonies with a population of three millions scattered among savages in a distant wilderness,—a mightier event in many of its aspects and its effects upon the great wide future of the world than the volcanic convulsion in France in 1789 and onward.

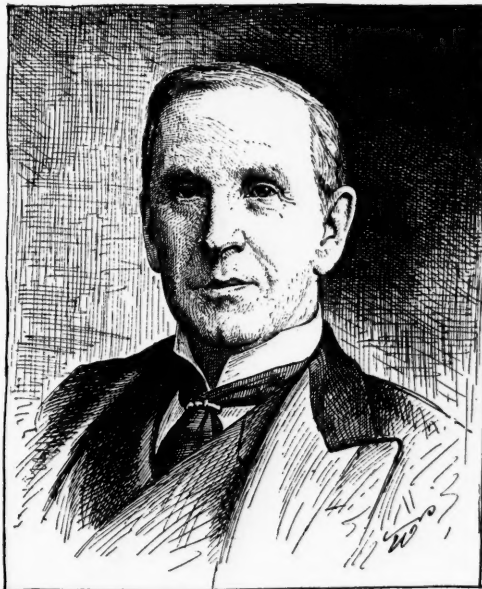
#### THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

English liberalism begot the American Declaration of Independence, and the American Declaration of Independence begot, in its turn, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

When the declaration of the Rights of Man sprang into flame, it became the beacon-light of Continental liberalism in Europe. No set of propositions framed by human ingenuity and zeal have ever let loose more swollen floods of sophism, fallacy, cant, and rant than all this. Yet, let us not mistake. The American and French declarations held saving doctrine, vital truths, and quickening fundamentals. Party names fade, forms of words grow hollow, the letter kills; what was true in the spirit lived on, for the world's circumstance needed and demanded it.

#### SOCIALISM.

Mr. Morley has much to say upon the socialistic movement which succeeded to the enthusiasm for nationality, as that, in its turn, had superseded the earlier enthusiasm for equality. He says:



THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY.

Socialism, like the other great single names for complex things with which we have been dealing, stands for a wide diversity of doctrine and purpose. But the best definition seems to be that "in general it has for its end the destruction of inequalities in social condition by an economic transformation." The gradual smoothing of revolutionary socialism into what has been called electoral or parliamentary socialism may have chilled the old high ardor of an earlier apostolate. Yet the central aim and principle abide,—subordination of individual energy and freedom, not merely to social ends, but to more or less rigorous social direction. This marks a vast difference, and is the dividing line.

The liberal and democratic elements are gradually left out or thrust into obscurity, the free spontaneous moral forces are pooh-poohed, and all the interest is concentrated on the machinery by which life is to be organized. Everything is to fall into the hands of an expert, who will sit in an office and direct the course of the world. A harder, more unsympathetic, more mechanical, conception of society has seldom been devised.

#### SACRIFICE THE LAW OF SOCIETY.

But we must find space for this passage, with which to conclude our notice of an article which every one should read and ponder:

Selfish and interested individualism has been truly called non-historic. Sacrifice has been the law,—sacrifice for creeds, for churches, for dynasties, for kings, for adored teachers, for native land. In England and America to-day, the kind of devotion that once inspired followers of Stuarts, Bourbons, Bonapartes, marks a nobler and a deeper passion for the self-governing commonwealth.

## THE NEW AWAKENING TO OUTDOOR LIFE.

THE American people are beginning to have enough of the nerve-wearing tension of city life, and are returning to their senses and to the country, to find there a breathing-place if not an abiding-place. "All but the absolutely indifferent can be made to realize that outdoor air and activity, intimacy with nature, and acquaintanceship with birds and animals and fish are essential to physical and mental strength," writes the Hon. Grover Cleveland in the first number of the *Country Calendar*. Mr. Cleveland, as all the world knows, has attained distinction as a sportsman as well as in the Presidential chair, but it is not often that he confesses himself in print as he has done in the May number of the *Country Calendar* in an article on "The Mission of Sport and Outdoor Life." The ex-President has been variously honored and blamed and pitied for his stanch devotion to hunting and fishing as recreations, according to the temperament or training of the critic, but he frankly admits that, so far as his attachment to outdoor sports may be considered a fault, he is, in relation "to this especial predicament of guilt, utterly incorrigible and shameless,"—we trust he may still plead guilty to this dire offense.

Quite a different variety of sport from ex-President Cleveland, though certainly not lacking in adventure, is given in Mr. Finley's "Golden Eagles." The photographs represent an acrobatic as well as a photographic feat, with the photographer photographed in his perilous tree-top perch over the lofty eerie, camera leveled, waiting for the infant golden eagles to "look pleasant."

Another phase of out-of-door enjoyment is touched upon in Mr. John Burroughs' "In May," which, like all Mr. Burroughs' writing, is instinct with the sincerity, the freshness, the charm, of one who in his love for mother earth is no "carpet knight," but has given her life-long devotion. Mr. Dallas Lore Sharp, a younger lover of woods and fields, in whom the note of sincerity is felt, writes more in detail of the sights and sounds which make up the spell of May-time in "woods and meadows"—the rare spring flowers and where to find them—which no one who cares for his soul's welfare should miss.

But the sheer blessedness of the outdoor life is only one part of the return to the country. After the prodigal had partaken of the fatted calf, he probably went to work. Farming in these days is assuming a far more scientific aspect than ever before, and the progress of

agriculture is vitally concerned with the great problems before the country of forestry, of irrigation; farming is becoming a science, and an exact science, rather than a trade. To no class of workers is the Government giving more constant, valuable assistance than that given to the farmer through the Department of Agriculture. "If the department boasted a motto," writes the Hon. James Wilson, "I think it should be, 'We help.' At least, we particularly mean to help the man who works in the field with his coat off." The Department of Agriculture has grown in size and strength, and "is now a great institution for research, for the training of men, and for the diffusion of knowledge, such as the world has not heretofore seen. Two thousand scientists are working with hearty enthusiasm to solve the many pressing problems that almost daily arise in the work of the farmer. When an agricultural crisis, involving a great region, arises, such as the appearance of the boll weevil in Texas, there is no agency in the country which can adequately handle it except the Department of Agriculture," which forthwith goes to the rescue, with the result that the farmers, by following the Government's advice, can now get a crop of cotton in spite of all the boll weevils of Texas.

Somewhat in line with the Secretary of Agriculture's paper is a clear-headed and able article by Professor Bailey on "The Quest of Nitrogen."

No experimenter in plant life has been more in the public eye of late than Mr. Luther Burbank; therefore, when W. S. Harwood, Burbank's neighbor and chosen spokesman (Aaron, as it were, to the "wizard's" Moses), discourses on how the amateur may follow in Burbank's footsteps the most languid of dilettantes stops to listen.

"Pick out some plant which you like," says Mr. Burbank, "but which you wish different in some particular. Perhaps it does not altogether suit you in color; perhaps it is not so deep and intense as you would like to have it. Select out of the entire lot of flowers before you, going over them all with the utmost care (even if there are hundreds of them), the one which approaches nearest to your ideal. Then isolate this plant and select its seeds. Plant them, and select, from all the plants that result, only the best. Plant again and again from successive seed harvests, each time selecting the plants which are coming nearest your ideal. If you have done your work faithfully, the new generations should show decided leanings toward this ideal."



## BRIEFER NOTES ON TOPICS IN THE PERIODICALS.

### SUBJECTS TREATED IN THE POPULAR AMERICAN MONTHLIES AND QUARTERLIES.

**Art and Archæology.**—There is an optimistic article in *Munsey's* on a new era for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of New York City, by Arthur Hoeber. With J. Pierpont Morgan as president of the institution, with Sir Purdon Clark as director, and with the Rogers bequest as an endowment fund, the prospects of the Metropolitan at present are decidedly bright.—Mr. Hoeber also contributes to the *Century* an article entitled "The Prize of Rome," which has especial timeliness and value just now in view of the incorporation and substantial encouragement of the American Academy at Rome, which has been rechartered by the Congress of the United States and endowed with a fund of \$600,000 by wealthy Americans.—In the *World's Work*, Mr. Charles H. Caffin throws light on the commercial side of art-development in New York through his description of the art-auction business as conducted in the metropolis.—In *Harper's*, M. Jacques de Morgan, the general delegate in Persia of the French ministry of public instruction, gives the results of the latest excavations at Susa.—A novel field of art-study is exploited in the account of "Art in the Solomon Islands," by C. Prætorius, in the *International Studio* for April.

**Travel Sketches.**—In the *Booklovers Magazine* there is a good illustrated description of the fiords of Norway, by Albert S. Bolles. The same magazine presents "Another View of Guam" by Seaton Schroeder.—*Scribner's*, this month, has three descriptive articles dealing with widely separated regions. Mr. Frank E. Schoonover, in his second article on the Canadian wilderness in winter, describes the life of the Indians during the season of intensest cold. Mr. T. R. Sullivan describes a visit to the Tuscan farm which the elder Salvini owns and manages. Mr. Edwin B. Child, the artist, discourses on somewhat more familiar scenes in his article entitled "The Marble Mountains," in which he describes the marble quarries of Vermont and the people who have developed that industry.—A little-known people, who live among the eastern foothills of the Bolivian Andes, is described in *Harper's* by Mr. Charles Johnson Post, who visited them in November of last year. These people—the Leccos, as they call themselves—differ altogether from the barbaric tribes in their vicinity, and resemble in a marked way the Malay type with which we have become familiar in the far East.—An article in *Munsey's* by A. Henry Savage-Landor embodies the observations of that well-known traveler in the Philippines. After spending most of a year in exploring the islands, Mr. Savage-Landor feels prepared to answer the question "Are the Philippines Worth Keeping?" emphatically in the affirmative.

**Nature and Outdoor Life.**—In the May magazines there are several capital articles descriptive of various phases of animal life, and the customary accounts of fishing and hunting adventures. In *Outing*, Edwyn

Sandys writes on "Fishing for Fun," and William C. Harris offers "A Few Fishing Hints." L. W. Brownell contributes some suggestions on "Photographing Birds' Nests," and there are some interesting incidents grouped under the heading "Strange Things About Animals."—"Hans, the Wonderful Horse of Berlin," is described in *McClure's* by E. C. Heyn.—Dr. Henry C. McCook continues his entertaining series of insect studies in *Harper's* with a chapter on the "Huntress Wasps."—In *Munsey's Magazine*, Mr. Herbert N. Casson unfolds "New Wonders of Ant Life."—"The Protective Mimicry of Insects" is the title of a fresh and entertaining bit of nature-interpretation by Mr. W. B. Kaempffert in the *Booklovers Magazine*.—In the *Century*, Prof. W. J. Holland, director of the Carnegie Museum at Pittsburgh, describes the newly discovered inland white bear of northwestern British Columbia.—Mr. J. M. Boraston writes in the *Cosmopolitan* on "Hunting with the Camera," a subject treated in the April REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Mr. H. K. Job.—An attractive treatment of a great variety of outdoor topics is to be found in the pages of the new magazine, the *Country Calendar*, which is described elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Much interesting material, relating especially to domestic animals, poultry, and the country home, is embodied in the various departments of this periodical, such as "Stable and Kennel," "The Country Beautiful," and "Garden and Orchard."

**Literary Topics.**—A rather unusual article for *McClure's* is contributed by Prof. William James on the late Thomas Davidson—"a knight-errant of the intellectual life." When Professor Davidson died, five years ago, he was classed by obituary writers in England among the twelve most learned men of his time. Davidson was a Scotch-American student of philosophy who was known on both sides of the Atlantic through his contributions to learned periodicals and his personal influence as a teacher.—There is an entertaining article in the *Bookman*, by Arthur Goodrich, dealing with London's literary clubs. In the same magazine, Albert Schinz describes the Goncourt Academy of France.—Several sketches of Hans Christian Andersen appeared in the April magazines, but one written by Emili Roess was held over for the May number of *Munsey's*.—The Schiller anniversary is commemorated in the *Atlantic* by two articles—"Schiller's Message to Modern Life," by Kuno Francke, and "Schiller's Ideal of Liberty," by William Roscoe Thayer. The *Atlantic* has also an article by Paul Elmer Moore apropos of the centenary of Sainte-Beuve.

**Economics and Politics.**—In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* there is a well-considered article on "The Overproduction of Cotton and a Possible Remedy," by

Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips. In brief, Dr. Phillips proposes that the State governments of the cotton belt protect the industry by taxing the product. This would increase the output and raise the price.—In the *Arena* for April, Mrs. Clara B. Colby describes the results of municipal ownership of public utilities in the city of Glasgow, where baths, lodging-houses, street railways, water, gas, and municipal playgrounds are all owned and operated by the city. Mr. W. R. Brown's plea for municipal ownership and league organization in the same magazine has been quoted in another department of this REVIEW.—In the current number of the *Forum*, Baron Kaneko, formerly minister of agriculture and commerce in Japan, writes on America's economic future in the far East.—The economic quarterlies all have articles of current interest. H. Parker Willis treats, in the *Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago), of the economic situation in the Philippines. This writer holds that after the construction of the railroads there will still remain to be settled the difficult land and labor questions, and that nothing short of full concession of the demands for Chinese coolie labor and for large plantations will make "business good" in the islands.—There is a clear-cut presentation of "The Social Problems of the American Farmer" by Kenyon L. Butterfield in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Chicago).—Prof. Francis Walker contributes to the *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia) a study of the monopolistic combinations of Europe.—In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Mr. Horace E. Deming writes on "Municipal Nomination Reform," Mr. Hoyt King on "The Reform Movement in Chicago," and Mr. John A. Fairlie on "The Recent Extension of Municipal Functions in the United States." There are also papers by Andrew W. Crawford on "The Development of Park Systems in American Cities," by Lawrence Veiller on "The Housing Problem in American Cities," and by Miss Lillian D. Wald on "The Medical Inspection of Public Schools." Dr. Leo S. Rowe writes on "The Reorganization of Local Government in Cuba."

**Theological Discussion.**—In most of the journals devoted to theology considerable attention is paid to the modern evangelism in its various aspects. In the current number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, for example, Dr. Charles H. Richards sets forth what he regards as certain needed factors in the "new evangelism." He points out that the theological and sentimental side of religion has been overemphasized, to the neglect of the practical side.—The *Homiletic Review* maintains an editorial department in which very practical problems in religion and theology are freely discussed. In the April number there is comment on "the clergyman in politics." Besides the editorial articles, there are contributions published from time to time which deal directly with the most urgent phases of modern problems before the Church. In the April number, President Alfred T. Perry, of Marietta College, Ohio, presents some important statistics on the decline in the number of students for the ministry. This question is approached from a different point of view by Mr. Everett T. Tomlinson in the May number of the *World's Work*, in which he exposes the evil results of what he terms "Coddling Theological

Students."—The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April contains an editorial note on the controversy over the acceptance of the Rockefeller gift by the American Board. The editor not only defends the action of the board in accepting the gift, but declares that the head of the Standard Oil Company is "a most conspicuous target of misdirected and unjust public opinion."—The articles that we have thus far mentioned would indicate the trend of our theological reviews away from doctrinal disputations toward the discussion of ethical considerations and concrete facts in modern life. This is doubtless true of the theological journals as a class when compared with their predecessors of a generation ago. Space is still found, however, for an immense amount of abstract discussion on doctrinal topics. To recite a few titles at random from the contents of current numbers, we have in the *Princeton Theological Review* a paper on "The Incarnation and Other Worlds," by Alfred H. Kellogg; in the *Baptist Review and Expositor*, which represents the Southern Baptist Church, "The Nature of Religion," by Prof. Francis R. Beattie; in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (published for the Methodist Episcopal Church South) "A Modern Statement of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," by Dr. C. M. Bishop; in the *Lutheran Quarterly*, "The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free Will," by Prof. J. W. Richard, and in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* "The Consciousness of Christ, the Key of Christianity," by Dwight M. Pratt. These reviews all publish a large amount of other material which we lack space to mention even by title. They contain not only philosophical, but literary, historical, and biographical articles, many of which are of unusual merit.

**Science Notes.**—A paper in *Munsey's Magazine* by Eugene Wood describes "The Richness of Coal Tar," showing how the chemists have learned to extract from what was once a worthless by-product of the gas works a great variety of drugs, dyes, acids, oils, perfumes, and other useful things.—There is an important paper in *Harper's* by E. Walter Maunder, F.R.A.S., on "Magnetic Storms and the Sun." The coincidence between intense magnetic storms and the occurrence of large spots on the sun has long been a matter of comment. Professor Maunder has concluded, after a long series of observations, that the sun's action in these storms is not a magnetic radiation at all, but that in some way "a stream proceeding from the sun and overtaking the earth effects a release of terrestrial magnetic energy, as a spark may set free the disruptive forces in a store of gunpowder." Solar action, in other words, does not supply the storm's magnetic forces, but it gives those forces the opportunity to reveal themselves. Prof. Ernest W. Brown, writing on "Sunspots and Weather" in the *Popular Science Monthly* for April, demolishes prevalent misconceptions regarding the relation of sunspots to terrestrial storms. It is sometimes argued that "cold waves" result from the partial screening off of the sun's heat due to the presence of the spots, but Professor Brown shows that the spots are more probably evidences of increased activity, and that therefore they should indicate a greater rather than a less output of solar heat. But at all events, the effect of these changes on the earth's climatic conditions is as yet unknown.

## THE SPIRIT OF THE FOREIGN REVIEWS.

**Political Parties in Russia.**—The very general opinion that there are no organized political parties in Russia is corrected by the elder Suvorin in his "Little Letters" which are appearing in the *Novoye Vremya*, edited by his son. This opinion owes its origin, no doubt, to the fact that as Russia has no constitution there are no normal conditions favorable to the creation and organization of political parties. Mr. Suvorin, however, reminds us that Russia has had political parties since the beginning of the seventeenth century. They have held different political views, all the way from advocacy of the unlimited monarchy to a republic. There have been strong organizations favoring a constitutional monarchy such as the former Polish aristocratic republic, or as Sweden. The Social Democrats have been very strong, and their talented leader, Bolotnikov, fought real battles with the Czar's regiments. All these political parties existed in the seventeenth century. In the following century there was a Constitutional party which distinguished itself by its "Committee of Public Welfare" at the beginning of the reign of Alexander I., and by Speransky's activity during the revolution of the Dekabrist. The Social Democratic and the Revolutionary party are strong to-day. The Revolutionists are not numerous, but they are well organized and energetic, and have a fine publicity propaganda service. They aim to set aside even the Liberal parties, and to destroy the existing order root and branch. Mr. Suvorin complains of the inactivity of the Moderate parties, and even of the government, in the face of the present serious situation. He illustrates this inactivity by the following dialogue, without naming the speakers: "The workingmen are on strike." "We cannot help that. God bless them. That's the manufacturers' business." "The teachers and students at the university are on strike." "This is of no account. Cæsar, Voltaire, Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, etc., did not attend any lectures and never graduated." "The college students are on strike." "And for what is there a government? Why do not they act? Why do they let these things go on? They did not permit anything before, and now they permit everything. So we have the consequences." "But the revolution is near." "What revolution? Nothing but a scandal. We have not enough police, so we have disorders. That's all." "To what party do you belong?" "At present, to my own. I shall send my son to school to Berlin, sell my property, and leave for any country where there are no bomb-throwers." "This means emigration. What shall do those who have no means to emigrate?" "That is their business. They have to take care of themselves in all this chaos."

**Is Russia Ready for a Constitution?**—One of the most notable articles on this subject appeared recently in the legal periodical *Pravo* (Right), edited by Gessen, a prominent Liberal who has taken an active part in the agitation of the last several months. It discussed the question of constitutional government for Russia and its effect on autocracy and bureaucracy. "Popular government directly limits the powers of kings, but fundamentally every constitution is directed not so much against monarchical rule as against the domination of the bureaucracy. We are of the opinion that if it were really possible to substitute for the con-

stitutional formula one specifically and exclusively directed against the latter, and having no tendency to restrict kingly authority, such a formula might be acceptable. But there is no such formula, and none can be framed, since bureaucracy always acts in the name of the monarch. And even if one could be framed, it could not possibly acquire any practical importance beside the constitutional principle, which is so popular, so prevalent, and so scientifically elaborated. Hence, the demand for a constitution proper is everywhere alike a logical and an historical necessity. . . . Against the granting of a constitution the objection is often made that 'the people' are not ready for it, and that even the existence of widespread discontent cannot be regarded as evidence of a national demand for parliamentary government. Cases are possible where this twofold contention is sound and where the inference drawn from it is yet incorrect. While a bureaucratic régime lasts, while it is not only strictly prohibited to explain to the masses the essence and advantages of constitutional rule, but it is constantly dinning into their ears that the existing order, owing to historical and religious grounds, is the only possible order in a given country (and this has always and everywhere been asserted in opposition to popular interests), it is idle to expect from the people rational and intelligent ideas concerning constitutional government—idle to talk about popular fitness for such government." The review concludes that the transition from autocracy to constitutionalism is never easy, but that the difficulties and drawbacks attending it cannot be avoided, since no bureaucracy will ever voluntarily quit its power and its privileges, its position of supremacy in the country. A struggle is inevitable, and in this struggle the intellectual and educated classes must, of necessity, take the leading part and speak for the people. Finally, if it is desired to "prepare" the people, the autocracy should concede full freedom of speech and publication and agitation. How can one prepare people when discussion, assembly, and organization are forbidden?

**The End of the Old Régime in Russia.**—In *La Revue* there is an article by G. Savitch on the end of the old régime in Russia. According to this writer, the Czars have hitherto considered Russia as a sort of private property peopled by human beings denominated "faithful subjects." They have exercised unlimited power over the people, for the laws were made for the subjects only, and not for the Czars or their agents. This system has been repeated in every part of Russia, till governors-general, prefects, and all in power came to regard themselves as so many smaller Czars. Alexander II. abolished slavery, but he preserved intact his arbitrary power, and his reforms were incomplete. Nevertheless, he made considerable transformations in Russia, but always unwillingly. He regretted he could not avoid them, and consequently they were invariably followed by an immediate and violent reaction. If Alexander II. was irresolute, Alexander III. regarded reforms with horror, and he sought to undo all that his father had accomplished. Nicholas II. imitated the principles and errors of his father. After the Franco-Russian alliance, the Czar wished to assure peace to the universe, but at the same time he did everything humanly possible to disunite the peoples and the races



of Russia. The alliance made the autocracy feel secure. The Czars have always believed, or have been persuaded, that they could rule a nation by terror. After Plehve, the Czar resolved to make concessions, but it was too late. Czarism is always too late. Now the moral prestige of autocracy is compromised and weakened. But is its material power still intact? The government will promise reforms, but while the Czar may abandon orthodoxy and nationalism, he will still endeavor to retain autocracy.

#### Admiral Togo on the Siege of Port Arthur.—

A short but very interesting paper on the siege and fall of the famous fortress is contributed to the *Taiyo* (Tokio) by Admiral Togo himself. The trenches which the Russians dug around the fortress, according to the admiral, were much wider and deeper than the besiegers expected, and none of the instruments which the Japanese had brought for the purpose of bridging over these trenches proved to be available. The Russians, moreover, used French-made guns and powder, which were much more powerful than those used by the Japanese. Then, the fortifications were so strong that the besiegers had to dig numberless ditches and mines and other underground passages, a proceeding for which they were not entirely prepared. In order to locate these defenses and to ascertain the strength of the garrison, the Japanese had to sacrifice tens of thousands of lives in these preliminary operations alone. Referring to the transport services of the belligerents, Admiral Togo asserts that the Russians cannot cope with the Japanese so long as the former's sole means of transportation is on land. Having complete control of the sea, Japan is more than mistress of the situation. It is interesting to read at this time Admiral Togo's comments and remarks on the Russian Baltic fleet. Though the number of warships constituting this fleet is apparently large, he declares there are only four first-class modern battleships, and but two other ships that are able to take part in actual naval battles as they are fought to-day. At the time he wrote, he declared himself as disinclined to believe that Admiral Rozhdestvenski would undertake to reach Vladivostok. He (Admiral Togo), however, expresses himself as being fully prepared for any eventualities.

#### The Secret of Japan's Military Strength.—

The Japanese are the "cleanest-living and the most sober soldiers in the world," says Mr. F. A. McKenzie, writing in *C. B. Fry's Magazine*. They have no camp followers; they take very little drink; their diet is simplicity itself; their one luxury is the incessant smoking of cheap cigarettes. The Japanese soldier is not a vegetarian, as many suppose. His main article of diet is rice, but to this he adds, as part of his regular rations, pickles, dried fish, and tinned meat. The first note of the Japanese army is work. "Men are trained high." In peace time, instruction begins at 6 A.M., lasting till 11, then rest and dinner, then four more hours of work. The military lectures, especially on sanitary matters, tactics, and patriotism, continue whenever the men are resting, even in campaign times. The jiu-jitsu, which the Londoner learns in six lessons, more or less, the Japanese learns in half a lifetime. Avoidance of luxury is a point of honor. "All know the story about General Nogi, who, when during the Chinese War he was presented with a costly cloak, sold it for the benefit of the sick, declaring that he had one cloak already, and

there were many soldiers without any." An officer would consider himself disgraced if he took into the field elaborate food or over-abundant clothing. As a result of this avoidance of luxury, the foreign attachés sent to join Kuroki's army suffered considerably. Being the guests of the nation, they could take nothing with them, and the Japanese fare given to them, ample for a Japanese, was semi-starvation for the Europeans. Yet Mr. McKenzie does not think the Japanese are in any way an ideal race for us to copy. "In many essential points . . . they need to go long and earnestly to school with the West."

#### No Real Anti-English Feeling in Germany.—

The substance of Mr. J. L. Bashford's important article in the *Monthly Review* is that when a terrible German bogey is dressed up and presented to the British public as harboring all manner of evil designs no notice should be taken of it. Rather, Englishmen should turn to recent official utterances in Germany itself, and to the many other signs indicated by Mr. Bashford of a feeling in Germany toward England which is anything but unreasonable or hostile. Mr. Bashford reminds us of the exaggerated importance attached by the less well-informed in Germany to Mr. A. H. Lee's recent utterances on Germany's alleged naval schemes against Great Britain, which in Germany would certainly have brought about a reprimand that would compel him to retire. He quotes an extremely interesting document sent to him by "one of the chief officials of the Berlin foreign office," according to which there are in Germany three sections of public opinion specially affected by the news of Mr. Lee's indiscretions,—the general public, the enthusiasts for an increase of the fleet, the *Flotten Verein*, and official circles. "With the general public, the prevailing feeling was one of irritated astonishment. People said to themselves that they had been led to understand that the efforts made during the last few months on both sides to dissipate old misunderstandings and to smooth the way for restoring former friendly relations had been successful. Why, then, this sudden check? In Germany, these efforts had met with universal approval, because, despite frictions of various kinds, the national instinct of Germany always slides back to the conviction that Germans and Englishmen are linked together by more natural, and consequently by closer, ties than those that could possibly subsist between Germany and the Latin or the Slav peoples. Herein old recollections of former centuries always play a part. Among the country people, for example, you will find a distinctive readiness to believe that some day or other the French and the Germans will have to fight out their differences again; and in the eastern provinces you will see there is also a feeling, though a less pronounced one, of the possibility of Germans crossing weapons with their Muscovite neighbors. On the other hand, you will not observe anywhere among the country folk of Germany a shadow of a disposition to admit that it will ever be necessary to conduct hostilities against England."

**The Dutch and Germany.**—A keen analysis of the position of Holland with regard to German world-ambition is contributed to the *Onze Eeuw*. The writer declares that the Dutch are half German. Moreover, there are some thirty thousand Germans in Holland, and the trade and intercourse between the two countries is not only increasing, but also increasing far more



rapidly than between Holland and Great Britain or France. About half the Dutch imports come from Germany. The Germans who settle in The Netherlands soon assimilate Dutch ideas and become absorbed in the population, as though they had not come from the dominion of the Kaiser; nevertheless, there is a fear that Germany may absorb Holland unless The Netherlands are wide awake. Holland must have better home defenses, and be able to take an independent stand.

**Has Germany Overreached Italy?**—The Berlin correspondent of the *Tribuna* (Rome), Cesare Castelli, considers that Italy has got the small end of the bargain in the new commercial treaty with Germany, which has been before the *Reichstag* and the Italian Parliament for ratification. In the *Italia Moderna* (Rome) he examines the provisions of the treaty. The editor of the review takes exception to the pronounced free-trade attitude of Signor Castelli, and says it is necessary also to compare the treaties which Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, and Germany have with the other countries before giving a final judgment. Signor Castelli shows, however, that by the new treaty Germany increases the duty on wine, grapes, dead poultry, butter, and cheese, and imposes a duty where formerly the articles were free on fruits (except citrus fruits), vegetables, live poultry, marble, alabaster, sumac, acorns, horsehair, felted cloths, straw and felt hats, shoes, and silk, altogether products that in exportation from Italy to Germany amount to 95,000,000 lire (\$19,000,000) of the total of about 245,000,000 lire. On the other hand, Italy has made concessions on German exports to Italy, such as chemical and dye products, woolen and silk cloths, bicycles, paper, skins, metals, hardware, rubber, and battery cells that amount to 135,063,000 lire (\$27,012,600). It is on silk that this writer thinks greatest injustice has been done. While the duty on dyed silk has been slightly reduced, twisted raw silk, formerly free, has been classed with dyed silk, and owing to Germany's superior dyeing industry, the importation of this raw silk is vastly more important than that of dyed silk. To get free silk, the Germans must now import absolutely raw and untwisted silk, thus depriving Italian labor of any advantage. As proof of German advantage, the writer cites the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* as commenting on the various advantages gained over Italy, while censuring the government for making concessions to Russia and Austria.

**Maupassant Defended as Novelist.**—Alberto Lombroso, who has just published, in Italian, a book of "Souvenirs of Maupassant," takes exception, in the *Italia Moderna* (Rome), to a recently printed judgment of Paul Bourget classing Maupassant as purely a short-story writer, and contrasting him with Flaubert, who was equally master of short and long fiction. Bourget's statement appears in the preface he wrote for the new English volume on Balzac's best ten short stories. Signor Lombroso gives reasons for classing Maupassant among the great novelists, and suggests that Bourget's severe judgment of the "tragic and unquiet Maupassant," as he called him in "Outre-Mer," is due to jealousy from the fact that the latter triumphed over Bourget every time they treated of similar themes. In proof of this he advises the reading of "Pierre et Jean" and "André Cornélis," of "Notre Cœur" and "Cœur de Femme," of "Fort Comme la Mort" and "Le Fantôme." He recounts a story he got from Fernando de Navenne,

former French ambassador to the Vatican, as further throwing light on Bourget's attitude. Many years ago, Bourget confided to Mme. H. Lecomte du Noy that he was working up a fine novel plot in which a man loved first a mother and then her daughter. Shortly after this, the lady cooled in friendship for Bourget, and became closely in touch with Maupassant, as she remained until his death. She told the latter of the plot, and urged him to work it up, which he did as "Fort Comme la Mort." A dozen years after, Bourget concluded he would work up the plot in spite of Maupassant's treatment of it, and he produced "Le Fantôme," published first in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1900. Thus, Bourget had an unrecogized part in one of Maupassant's masterpieces, and was even accused of plagiarism for working up a plot another had pilfered from him.

**Another Version of the Origin of "Yankee Doodle."**—A patriotic Hessian, Johann Lewalter, contributes to the publication *Hessenland* an article in which he declares that the tune "Yankee Doodle" was originally a country-dance in a district of the former province of Kur-Hesse known as the Schwalm. He begins by asserting that no one disputes the fact of "Yankee Doodle" having been derived from a military march played by the Hessian troops during the American revolution. While studying over the dances of the Schwalm, Mr. Lewalter was impressed by the similarity in form and rhythm of "Yankee Doodle" to the music of these dances. Last year, at a kirmess in one of the villages, when "Yankee Doodle" was played the young men and girls swung out into one of the real Schwälmer dances as though this music had been composed for it. Mr. Lewalter recalls the fact that the chief recruiting office for the enlistment of Hessian soldiers during the American revolution was the town of Ziegenhain, in Kur-Hesse. It seems probable, therefore, he concludes, that the Hessian recruits from the Schwalm, who were in the pay of Great Britain during our Revolutionary War, and whose bands had only bugles, drums, and fifes, carried over with them the tune with which they had been familiar from childhood, and played it as a march.

**"American Democracy and Education."**—In an admiring article, under this title, in the *Revue Bleue*, M. Charles V. Langlois, one of the professors of the Sorbonne, declares that the most striking and noble characteristic of the American people is their faith in education. While the American democracy has not as yet produced very many mountain-peaks of intellect, yet the level of the entire population is very high and is constantly becoming higher. The American university is a remarkable national force.

**Reminiscences of Fritz Reuter.**—In Germany, the name of Fritz Reuter is a household word among the people, for his humorous and pathetic tales of peasant life in Mecklenburg, written in Platt-Deutsch, or Low German, are widely read by all classes. The copyright of Reuter's works having recently expired, the occasion has been deemed suitable for new studies and appreciations of the popular writer. Paul Warneke writes in *Westermann* for March on Fritz Reuter's beginnings. Born in 1810, it was not till 1850 that Reuter settled down to earn his living seriously. His youth at the universities had been one long round of excitement in connection with the Burschenschaft (Students' Club) movement of the German students,

ending with his arrest and imprisonment in 1833. First he was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to thirty years' imprisonment. After seven years of hardship in various fortresses, he was released in 1840, on the accession of Frederick William IV. Ten years after his release, he became a private schoolmaster at Treptow, in Pomerania, on the Mecklenburg border, and spent his leisure time in writing his stories and poems, painting portraits, etc., while his wife gave lessons in French and in music. He had the usual difficulties in getting his first volumes published. They were rejected by one publisher after another, and at last the money to get the first twelve hundred copies of his first book printed was lent by a friend, and the author became his own publisher. The edition was soon exhausted, and such unexpected good fortune naturally encouraged Reuter to devote himself to writing. One of his books is the history of his seven years' imprisonment in German fortresses. It is known as the "Festungstid."

**Moslem Ideals Opposed to Autocracy.**—A writer in the *Al Manar*, the Arab review of Cairo, Egypt, describes the model government which is outlined by the Koran. This writer, Salik Ben Ali Raffel, who is a well-known Hindu publicist, declares that autocratic government is condemned by both the Koran and the Prophet. Since the times of the first Caliphs, he tells us, Moslem government was really democratic, and the Caliph himself was chosen by popular representatives. As a method of government, Islam admits only two systems,—the constitutional monarchy and the republic. In short, every sort of autocratic government, administered by it makes no difference what Moham-medan potentate, is not really Islamic.

**The Shakespeare Memorial.**—Mr. Sidney Lee decides the question as to what should be the Shakespeare memorial by declaring, in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, that it must be a monument, and nothing besides, on the best site procurable in London. Foreign sculptors are to be invited to compete, for "it was a Frenchman, it was the romance-writer Dumas, who pointed out that Shakespeare is infinitely more than the greatest of dramatists, who declared that Shakespeare holds the second place in the universe. 'After God,' said Dumas, 'Shakespeare has created most.' The crucial decision as to whether the capacity to execute the monument is available should be intrusted to a committee of taste, to a committee of liberal-minded connoisseurs who command general confidence. If this jury decide by their verdict that the present conditions of art permit the production of a great memorial of Shakespeare on just principles, then a strenuous appeal for funds may be inaugurated with likelihood of success."

**Sharp Criticism of the Balfour Government.**—Mr. Maxse, the editor of the *National Review*, has lost all patience with Mr. Balfour. He says: "The constituencies no longer share the ministerial view that the maintenance of the present cabinet is a national necessity, while an ever-increasing amount of exaspera-

tion is being accumulated against a party which is apparently willing to sacrifice everything in order that a particular set of politicians, who are neither very remarkable nor successful, should remain in office. As a considerable number of Unionist members of Parliament share our view as to the desirability of ringing down the curtain on the present sorry farce, it argues an amazing want of resource on their part that they should be unable to secure the desired result."

**British Shipping and Fiscal Reform.**—Mr. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., thinks that British shipping is in a bad way, and remarks, in the *Nineteenth Century* for April: "Remedies may possibly be found against unfair foreign competition in shipping by varying the Board of Trade regulations, by altering the incidence of light dues, by government control of certain maximum rates of freight, by qualified reservation of coasting trade, by giving a preference within the British Empire to goods carried in British ships, and by permitting foreign material for shipbuilding to enter the country duty-free."

**Voltaire's Tragedies.**—In the *Independent Review* for April, Mr. G. L. Strachey passes the tragedies of Voltaire under review. He says every one has heard of Voltaire, but who has read him? It is by his name, not by his works, that he is known. Mr. Strachey proceeds to analyze the tragedy of "Alzire," and concludes that perhaps the most infamous achievement of the classic tradition was that it prevented Molière from being a great tragedian; its most astonishing one was "to have taken, if only for some scattered moments, the sense of the ridiculous from Voltaire."

**The Language Question in Hungary.**—Mr. Francis Kossuth, writing on the Hungarian crisis, says, in the *National Review* for April: "Our demand on the language question is moderate—so as not to interfere with the tactical unit of the battalion—viz., that the word of command shall be given to the troops in Hungarian by the major and all subordinate officers, while from the major upward the commands shall be given (as now) in German. Even this mild proposal meets with an absolute imperial *non possumus*."

**Northumberland Described.**—Northumbrians, at least, will be grateful to Mr. G. M. Trevelyan for his delightful paper on the Middle Marches in the April number of the *Independent Review*. Take this sketch of the border county: "In Northumberland, both heaven and earth are seen; we walk all day on long ridges, high enough to give far views of moor and valley, and the sense of solitude above the world below, but so far distant from each other, and of such equal height, that we can watch the low skirting clouds as they 'post o'er land and ocean without rest.' It is the land of the far horizons, where the piled or drifted shapes of gathered vapor are forever moving along the farthest ridge of hills, like the procession of long primeval ages that is written in tribal mounds and Roman camps and border towers on the breast of Northumberland."



## THE NEW BOOKS.

### NOTES ON RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

#### WORKS ON HISTORICAL SUBJECTS.

**V**OLUME III. of "The Cambridge Modern History" (Macmillan) is entitled "The Wars of Religion." This series was planned by the late Lord Acton, and is being edited by Dr. A. W. Ward, Dr. G. W. Prothero, and Mr. Stanley Leathes. This is a monumental volume of a monumental work. "The Wars of Religion" contains over nine hundred pages, and treats in a calm, philosophic way the complicated series of conflicts the origin and the pretext of which have been in some religious question. There are chapters devoted to wars and religion in France, Poland, Turkey, Spain, The Netherlands, Great Britain and Ireland, and Italy. Concluding chapters are on the Empire under Rudolph II. and the political thought of the sixteenth century. It is a remarkable volume,—the sifted and digested significance of libraries.

Mr. John B. Firth's descriptive biography of "Constantine the Great," in the series "Heroes of the Nations" which Mr. H. W. Davis is editing for the Putnams, the historical reader will find an excellent account of the reorganization of the ancient Roman Empire and the triumph of the Christian Church. Whether Constantine deserves the title of "Great" is a question. Certainly, under his auspices one of the most momentous changes in the history of the world was accomplished,—the first conversion of a Roman emperor to Christianity. This volume is illustrated.

An interesting little foot-note to history is an unpretentious volume entitled "America's Aid to Germany in 1870-71," with the English text translated into German, collected and prefaced by Adolph Hepner. This consists of an abstract from the official correspondence of Ambassador Washburne, then American minister at Paris, regarding the protection extended to Germans in Paris by the American embassy. The volume can be supplied by the author (27 Nicholson Place, St. Louis).

The second volume of "The United States: A History of Three Centuries," by Chancellor and Hewes (Putnams), covers the period of colonial development, from the close of the seventeenth century to the outbreak of the Revolution. Within a few years American historical students have studied the so-called "neglected period" of our colonial history to good purpose, and this book gives the results of some of these investigations in the form of a popular narrative. The condition of the negro slaves, North and South, is tersely summarized; the westward movement of population is described; and the industries of the period are treated with some fullness. The political development of the colonies is not neglected, but special emphasis is placed on their social and economic history.

One of the latest issues of the "Story of the Nations" series (Putnams) is Mr. L. Cecil Jane's "Coming of Parliament," which is an historical analysis of constitutional England during the three centuries from 1350 to 1660. The volume is illustrated, and provided with maps, charts, diagrams, and tables.



MADAME WADDINGTON.

Mme. Waddington, whose very clever and charming "Letters of a Diplomat's Wife" were so popular, has written another volume, entitled "The Italian Letters of a Diplomat's Wife" (Scribners). This little volume consists of letters written from Italian cities, chiefly Rome, while Mme. Waddington was with her husband on his tour of rest and recreation in Italy, after he had resigned the premiership of France (in 1879). The letters cover dates from May, 1880, to April, 1904. The work is illustrated from drawings and photographs.

Prof. Karl Lamprecht's lectures on the modern science of history have been collected in a volume and translated into English (by E. A. Andrews), under the title "What Is History?" (Macmillan). The lectures were originally published in Germany, under the title of "The Modern Science of History." They represent the author's ideas as to the real meaning of history, psychological intent, and the true method of writing it.

A clear and helpful little text on the voyages of Columbus and Magellan comes to us from Ginn & Co. The writer, Mr. Thomas B. Lawler, author of "The Essentials of American History," reminds us that the discovery of America by Columbus and the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan are the two greatest deeds in the history of geography. In this little manual, which is very clearly printed and appropriately illustrated, Mr. Lawler attempts to give a rapid, graphic account of the passing of Spain's colonial power, the foundations for which were laid in

these two great voyages. From the same publisher we have "Short Stories from American History" (the fourth in a series of historical readers). This little volume is by Albert F. Blaisdell and Francis K. Ball.

A brilliant study of the expansion of Greek ideas toward the East is presented in Professor Mahaffy's series of lectures on "The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire" (University of Chicago Press). This is Dr. Mahaffy's first American book, and he tells us in his preface that he has spent twenty years in studying the epoch he here considers. His endeavor has been to treat the human side of the origin of Christianity in a strictly historical spirit.

A learned Russian student of English institutions, Dr. P. Vinogradoff, is the author of a scholarly work entitled "The Growth of the Manor" (Macmillan). This writer, having followed with great care the recent researches of English scholars, has attempted in his own book to sum up the results of all these researches in the form of an outline of the growth of the manor as a social institution passing through all the stages of English history. For the special student of the subject, the fine-print notes supplementing each chapter cite numerous authorities and amplify the author's reasons for positions taken in the body of the text.

"The Story of the Congo Free State," by Henry Wellington Wack (Putnams), is a defense of the Belgian administration, written by a member of the New York bar who was granted access to the archives of the Free State government at Brussels. Our readers are more or less familiar with recent attacks on King Leopold's régime in the Congo,—notably the articles written by the Rev. W. H. Morrison, one of which appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. We have also noticed in these pages the book by E. D. Morel. In the present volume, the other side of the shield is shown. In Mr. Wack's view, the Free State is a remarkably successful colonizing enterprise, based on the principles of modern social science. He ridicules the stories of atrocities and abuse of the natives as unworthy of credence.

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, with the aid of Prof. William Macdonald, of Brown University, has expanded his "History of the United States" (Harpers), carrying on the narrative from the close of Jackson's administration, where the former edition left it, to the present time. Nearly two hundred pages have been added.

Mr. Albert G. Robinson's "Cuba and the Intervention" (Longmans) summarizes the eventful four years of Cuban history which preceded the birth of the new island republic. Mr. Robinson was a newspaper correspondent assigned to duty in Cuba during the period of American intervention. Among the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS there are doubtless many who recall his contributions to this magazine in those years. He was regarded as an exceptionally fair-minded and accurate observer of conditions in the island under the American protectorate. His account of this experiment in administration is well worth reading to-day, and will be still more valuable in years to come, as our remembrance of the facts becomes less and less vivid.

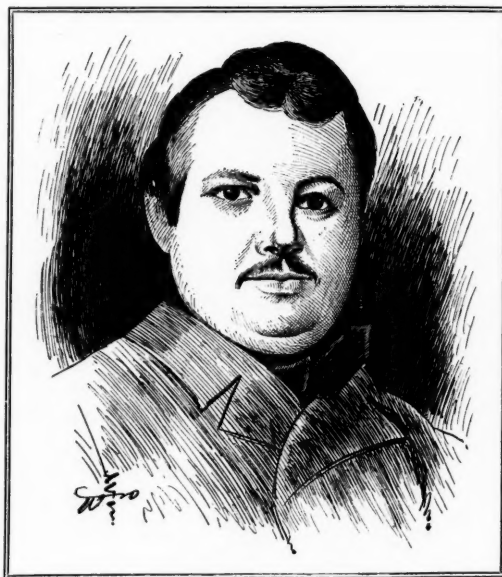
A wealth of information concerning the costumes of our colonial forefathers and foremothers is contained in a volume entitled "Historic Dress in America," by Elisabeth McClellan (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.). This work is chiefly devoted to the dress of the English colonists during the period 1607-1800, but there is a preliminary chapter on the costumes of the Spanish

settlers in Florida and of the French in Louisiana. A chapter is also devoted to the Dutch in New York. The illustrations, both in color and in black-and-white, are the work of Miss Sophie B. Steel, of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art. With few exceptions, they have been drawn from the actual garments described in the text. They represent the varied costumes of artisans, servants, soldiers, lawyers, and clergymen during the two centuries of our colonial history. Altogether, these reproductions make up an unusual and valuable collection of "documents," in the historian's sense of the word.

#### BIOGRAPHIES AND INTERPRETATIONS.

The new "Life of Chatham," by Frederic Harrison (Macmillan), is an admirable summing up of a career which has always had quite as many admirers in America as in England. A good part of Chatham's public life was devoted to American affairs, and his speeches in defense of America have been declaimed by every American schoolboy. Little was to be added to the familiar outlines of Chatham's life, but the work of condensation and arrangement has been done in Mr. Harrison's customarily thorough and satisfactory fashion.

A new and comprehensive personal volume on Balzac has been written by Mary F. Sandars (Dodd, Mead). This is based on the volume entitled "Lettres à



HONORÉ DE BALZAC. (From an old print.)

l'Étrangère," a collection of letters written by the great French novelist from 1833 to 1844, to Mme. Hanska, the beautiful Polish lady who afterward became his wife. Miss Sandars has literally dug out a biography of Balzac from this famous collection of letters. There are several interesting portraits, and the whole is very satisfactorily printed.

A new "Life of Robert Browning" has been written by C. H. Herford, professor of English literature in the University of Manchester. This volume (Dodd, Mead) does not claim to be the last word about Robert



Browning's poetry. Professor Herford disclaims any attempt at an exhaustive characterization or critique. He has attempted to work out a view of Browning's genius from a purely definite literary standpoint, based on correspondence and documents only very recently brought to light. Professor Herford's general theme is that Browning's poetry is "one of the most potent of the influences which in the nineteenth century helped to break down the shallow and mischievous distinction between the 'sacred' and the 'secular.'"

Taking as his text the assumption that "if Bach is the mathematician of music, Beethoven is its philosopher," Mr. George Alexander Fisher has written a character sketch of Beethoven, with an appreciation of Wagner's indebtedness to the older musician. Beethoven, says Mr. Fisher in this work (Dodd, Mead), addresses the intellect of mankind. He was the first musician who had the independence to think for himself. He established the precedent, which Wagner acted on later, of "employing the human voice as a tool, an instrument to be used in the exigencies of his art, as if it were part of the orchestra."

It is about as reasonable to include William Cullen Bryant among English men of letters as it would be to number Wordsworth among the American poets. Yet for some reason it has been thought desirable to add a sketch of Bryant to the well-known series published by the Macmillan Company. The writer of this sketch, Mr. William A. Bradley, has had as his principal authority for the facts of Bryant's life the official biography by his son-in-law, the late Parke Godwin. The "American Men of Letters" series already contained Bryant, by Mr. John Bigelow, but Mr. Bradley's book is briefer than either of its forerunners and summarizes the facts in Bryant's career that for the present generation are of the greatest value and interest.

A series of five essays on the Puritan spirit have been issued in book form (Houghton, Mifflin) by Andrew Macphail, under the title "Essays in Puritanism." The subjects are: Jonathan Edwards, manifesting the spirit of Puritanism in the pulpit; John Winthrop, showing that spirit at work in the world; Margaret Fuller, "whose career was the blind striving of the artistic sense for expression;" Walt Whitman, "whose conduct was the revolt against the false conventions which had grown up in his world;" and John Wesley, "who endeavored to make religion once more useful to humanity."

#### PAINTING AND THE DRAMATIC ART.

Because every student of art, history, and literature knows something about Greek architecture and Greek sculpture, but next to nothing of Greek painting, Miss Irene Weir has written a somewhat ambitious study of "The Greek Painters' Art" (Ginn). Miss Weir is director of art instruction in Brookline, and was formerly a student of the Yale School of Fine Arts. She has studied in Greece. Although we know so little about Greek painting, modern research, Miss Weir tells us, has proved beyond a doubt that "color was called to the aid of architecture from Homeric times down to the perfect period of its development that culminated in the Parthenon." This volume is excellently printed and copiously illustrated.

A series of essays on art subjects, covering the works and careers of most of the great artists since the Renaissance, by Kenyon Cox, have been collected and published in a volume, under the title "Old Masters and

New" (Fox, Duffield). It is not a history of art, but rather a series of appreciations of individual masters.

Another of Mr. James Huneker's volumes of literary and artistic criticism has appeared, under the general title "Iconoclasts: A Book of Dramatists" (Scribners).



MR. JAMES HUNEKER.

However orthodox or justifiable Mr. Huneker's verdicts on art and artists may be, he is certainly a vigorous, independent thinker and a brilliant stylist. In this volume, in which he considers Ibsen, Strindberg, Becque, Hauptmann, Hervieu, Sudermann, Gorky, D'Annunzio, Maeterlinck, Duse, and Bernard Shaw, we have some incisive, scintillating sentences, and brilliant, keen analysis.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST.

A popular but vigorous and comprehensive presentation of the case of the Orient against the Occident is presented by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick in his interpretation of the significance of the far-Eastern war, which he entitles "The White Peril in the Far East" (Revell). Dr. Gulick, who has obtained his intimate knowledge of the Japanese people by a long residence in Japan (he is author of "The Evolution of the Japanese" and other works, already noticed in these pages), believes that Japan is fighting the battle of civilization; that her victory over Russia, which he believes to be inevitable, will make for the regeneration and enlightenment of all Asia; and that the mission of the Japanese people is to reconcile, harmonize, and coördinate the civilization of East and West.

A collection of unusual and powerful sketches of the personal side of the Russo-Japanese war is entitled "The Yellow War" (McClure, Phillips), and its author signs himself "O." It is the romance and drama of the conflict that the writer sees, and he has done some very vivid sketches. Of many of the incidents related, the writer declares he has been an eye-witness. Some very realistic illustrations add to the absorbing interest of the volume.

## NEW BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

About four years ago, Mr. Alleyne Ireland was appointed a commissioner of the University of Chicago for the purpose of visiting the far East and preparing a comprehensive report on colonial administration in southeastern Asia. While this report has not yet been published, the first fruits of Mr. Ireland's investigations took the form of two series of articles, one of which appeared in the London *Times*, the other in the *Outlook* (New York). These articles were written during the author's sojourn in the far East and reflect his impressions of British, American, French, and Dutch colonial administration and policy. They have now been brought together in a volume entitled "The Far Eastern Tropics" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). Mr. Ireland finds much to criticize in the American Philippine policy (he is himself a British subject), but on one point he is perfectly clear,—that the people of the archipelago are absolutely unfitted for self-government. He declares, moreover, that 95 per cent. of the Filipinos have never so much as dreamed of independence.

Remembering Dr. Samuel Johnson's famous remark that "The grand object of all travel is to see the shores of the Mediterranean," Dr. D. E. Lorenz, who has been quite around that shore several times, has prepared a little handbook of practical information for tourists, entitled "The Mediterranean Traveler" (Revell). This is a sort of high-grade Baedeker, covering the entire Mediterranean coast in a single volume,—southern Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt. There are many maps and illustrations.

Miss Esther Singleton has added another to her most excellent series of volumes on countries and cities of the world described by great writers. Her latest volume is "Venice" (Dodd, Mead). The volume consists of impressions, essays, and criticisms, with a number of fine illustrations by sympathetic travelers, historians, and artists, gathered together to give a general impression of the "Queen of the Adriatic."

A well-put, interesting little pamphlet, by Bernardo Mallen, is "Mexico Yesterday and To-day, 1876 to 1904." Spanish, French, and German editions of this little pamphlet, prepared with the authority of the Mexican Government, were distributed at the St. Louis World's Fair. It is full of statistics, tables, and other data, graphically put. Copies can be obtained from the author, in Mexico City.

"The Fair Land Tyrol" is the title of an entertaining volume by Mr. W. D. McCrackan (Boston: L. C. Page & Co.). Partly description and partly snatches of history and biography, the book serves to vivify one's information about a charming region which the tourist too often misses altogether or only half sees in passing. Mr. McCrackan's earlier volumes, "Romance and Teutonic Switzerland" and "The Rise of the Swiss Republic," have brought him recognition as an authority on matters of Swiss history.

The Rev. Dr. J. L. Humphrey's book, "Twenty-one Years in India" (Jennings & Graham), is an illustrated account of the author's experience as a Methodist missionary in India.

## NATURE AND NATURALISTS.

Two books by E. P. Powell—"The Country Home" and "The Orchard and Fruit Garden" (McClure, Phillips & Co.)—deal in a thoroughly practical way with topics and problems which concern every country-dweller, and, for that matter, every city-dweller whose

thoughts turn, from time to time, to the ownership of rural acres. The author writes out of a full experience,—not mere "book theories." He addresses his advice to actual needs and difficulties. "The Country Home" abounds in common-sense directions as to choice of site, water-supply, lawns, and gardens. Its companion volume, treating especially of the orchard, throws needed light on the latest methods of culture and on the general principles to be observed in the nurture of American fruits. The popular treatment of these subjects is something new in our literature. Perhaps it is another indication of the sweeping movement countryward.

One of the most widely read of last year's nature-books was "A Woman's Hardy Garden," by Mrs. Helena Rutherford Ely. "Another Hardy Garden Book," by the same author (Macmillan), which makes its appearance this spring, is assured a hearty welcome, since it gives the results of many years' experience in raising vegetables, fruits, and flowers. It is addressed especially to the cultivation of the small home garden. Those who derived profit from the suggestions contained in the earlier book will no doubt be thankful for the many helpful hints offered by Mrs. Ely in this supplementary volume.

A book of which John Burroughs is able to say that he has had more delight in reading it than in reading any other nature-book in a long time is surely deserving of consideration. The work thus commended is entitled "Wasps, Social and Solitary" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). The authors, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Peckham, are residents of Wisconsin, and have been enthusiastic students of their subject for many years. The State of Wisconsin had already published their monograph on solitary wasps, but writings affording as much entertainment and instruction as theirs demand a more popular circulation than can be given them in the form of public documents.

A working handbook of great usefulness to bee-keepers is "The A, B, C of Bee Culture" (Medina, Ohio: The A. I. Root Company). This work, originally compiled by A. I. Root, has been revised and largely rewritten by his son, E. R. Root. It now embodies the experience and observation of hundreds of bee-keepers in all parts of the country.

The latest issue in "The American Sportsman's Library" (Macmillan) is a volume entitled "The American Thoroughbred," by Charles E. Trevathan. This work gives the complete history of horse-racing in America,—“the first country outside of England itself to begin the breeding of horses for purposes of the turf and for their general improvement.”

A neat little pen-picture of the quiet life of John Burroughs at his country home comes to us from the pen of Clara Barrus, under the title "The Retreat of a Poet-Naturalist." It is one of the brochures issued by *Poet Lore*, and has as a frontispiece a snapshot of the naturalist at Slabside.

## RELIGION AND ETHICS.

Dr. Henry A. Stimson has written a side-light on the simple life in the form of a book entitled "The Right Life and How to Live It" (Barnes). This volume has an introduction by Dr. William H. Maxwell, New York City superintendent of schools. The book is sound in its philosophy and clear and helpful in its suggestions.

Of the same sort of helpful, suggestive writing as the book already mentioned is Dr. Reginald J. Campbell's

"Sermons Addressed to Individuals" (A. C. Armstrong & Son). Dr. Campbell is Dr. Parker's successor as minister of the City Temple, London. The sermons he has gathered in this volume show him at his best, with all his versatility, logic, and power to move the hearts of men.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. issue as the latest number of their "What Is Worth While" series Dr. Lyman Abbott's sermon on "The Personality of God." This sermon was originally delivered before the students of Harvard University, and has excited considerable discussion.

"The Revelation Rediscovered," which is sub-titled "An Extract from the Stairway of Our Creator and Father," by Dr. John C. C. Clarke, formerly professor in the University of Chicago, is a new attempt at interpretation of the Book of Revelations. It is published by G. P. Clarke, at Upper Alton, Ill.

The Duttons import Rowland E. Prothero's "The Psalms in Human Life." Professor Prothero, it will be remembered, is author of "The Life of Dean Stanley" and other religious works and commentaries.

Dr. W. M. Ramsay's "Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia" (A. C. Armstrong & Son) appears in new typographical dress, with some helpful illustrations. It throws some very interesting side-lights upon the reciprocal influence of European and Asiatic civilizations, particularly in philosophical and religious matters.

A new contribution to the science of teleology is Mr. L. P. Gratacap's volume, "The World as Intention" (Eaton & Mains). Mr. Gratacap, who is curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, "endeavors to apply the doctrine of intention to the world, the Bible, the Church, the creed, and conduct."

A little manual of ethical suggestions, under the title "The Useful Life," has been compiled from the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg and published (Scribners) as "a crown to the simple life," with an introduction by John Bigelow. Duty is the emphasis throughout.

The three prize essays in the competition instituted by Miss Helen Gould with a view to stimulating investigation in the history of the Roman Catholic and Protestant versions of the Bible have been published in pamphlet form (New York: Bible Teachers' Training School, 541 Lexington Avenue). Aside from the inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Roman Catholic Bible and the rejection of the books so designated by Protestants as uncanonical, the difference between the versions, as brought out by the writers of these prize essays, are of minor importance. The message of both is essentially the same. The first prize in the competition was awarded to the Rev. William Thomas Whitley, the second to the Rev. Gerald Hamilton Beard, and the third to Charles B. Dalton, assistant master of Trinity Parish School, New York. The judges of the contest were: Prof. R. W. Rogers, of Drew Seminary; Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken, of New York University; the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*; President Francis L. Patton, of Princeton Seminary; Dean Melancthon W. Jacobus, of Hartford Seminary; Dr. Talcott Williams, of the *Philadelphia Press*, and Prof. Walter Q. Scott, of the Bible Teachers' Training School. It is stated that a diligent effort was made to secure at least two Roman Catholic judges, but this was not successful. Two hundred and sixty-five essays, representing every quarter of the globe, were submitted in the competition.

The first of a series of volumes to be known as "The Devotional and Practical Commentary," edited by Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll (A. C. Armstrong & Son), is devoted to the Epistles to the Colossians and the Thesalonians, and is said to be the last work of the late Dr. Joseph Parker, of the London City Temple. The foremost British theologians, of the day will contribute to this series, which has been projected on somewhat similar lines to those followed by the famous "Expositor's Bible," of which Dr. Nicoll was also editor.

Charles Scribner's Sons have just published an extra volume of the Dictionary of the Bible, edited by Mr. James Hastings. The extra volume has been published to meet a demand for information on subjects which, although they may not be purely biblical, are so closely related to Bible study that their appearance in a dictionary of the Bible will be a great help to all Bible students. The new volume contains thirty-seven articles, six indexes, and several maps, and bears the same mark of scholarly editing which characterizes the other volumes.

"Psychic Research and Gospel Miracles," by the Rev. Edward Maccomb Duff and Thomas Gilchrist Allen, M.D. (New York: Thomas Whittaker), is a bold attempt to confirm the veracity of the gospel narratives by reference to the results of modern psychological research. The writers announce that they have undertaken this work in a spirit of reverence, but have assumed nothing as proved in advance, being as anxious for legitimate proof as any honest doubters can be. The results of their investigations, in the opinion of the authors, amount to "a psychic verification of gospel miracles, a demonstration of gospel veracity, and a proof of Christ's insight into psychic laws and conditions; added to which is the psychic verification supplied from Christ's life as the veridical fulfillment of ancient Hebrew prophecy."

Dr. Charles Edward Jefferson, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, of New York, has added to his list of homiletic books "The Minister as Prophet" (Crowell). This is a series of lectures considering the present position of the minister in general affairs, and the attitude of the world toward him.

One of the volumes of "The Methodist Pulpit" being issued by Eaton & Mains is the Rev. John W. Sayers' collection of Memorial Day sermons, entitled "The More Excellent Sacrifice."

#### TWO WORKS ON SOCIAL ECONOMY.

Dr. Josiah Strong's yearbook of economic, industrial, social, and religious statistics, entitled "Social Progress" (Baker & Taylor), contains much information not easily accessible elsewhere. On the other hand, many topics customarily treated in almanacs and handbooks are not included in this volume. The material chiefly drawn upon by Dr. Strong in compiling this yearbook is such as relates directly to practical life. One of the especially helpful features of the book is a bibliography of economic and social subjects by W. D. P. Bliss. Prof. Edward W. Bemis contributes a suggestive chapter on municipal gas plants in the United States, and brief accounts of many social and philanthropic undertakings are contributed by their organizers or administrators. This is the second issue of "Social Progress," and all the statistics included have been brought well down to date.

A new edition of that very remarkable book, Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," has just been issued



by Doubleday, Page & Co. This is the twenty-fifth anniversary edition, and it has an introduction by Henry George, Jr.

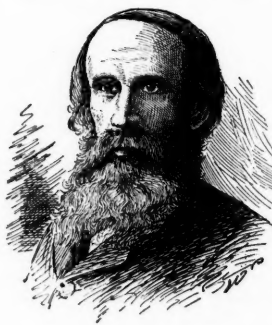
#### OTHER NEW BOOKS.

"Power and Health Through Progressive Exercise" is the title of an interesting little book by George Elliot Flint, son of the well-known New York physician, Dr. Austin Flint (Baker & Taylor). The author has radical views on the subject of physical exercise, but believes that the "light-weight" system of physical culture, since it fails either in awakening interest or in producing actual results, can never become truly popular. His own contention is for comparatively heavy exercises. A half-hour three times a week spent in real work which tries the muscles will accomplish far more in the long run than twice that amount of time spent in so-called "light" exercises. Whether we are prepared to accept these views at once or not, Mr. Flint's statement of them is well worth reading, and suggests possibilities in physical culture which to most advocates of the prevailing methods may well seem astonishing.

A series of little volumes, entitled "The Personal Help Library," is being written and issued by Mr. George H. Knox, of Des Moines, Iowa, founder of the Personal Help School of Achievement. The first volume, entitled "Ready Money," has been issued. It consists of some excellent advice to young men about beginning their careers, and is supplemented by several noteworthy speeches and addresses from well-known American public men.

Three small volumes of poems come to us. Mr. John White Chadwick has collected his later poems (Houghton, Mifflin); Mr. William J. Neidig has gathered a number of short poetic works, under the title "The First Wardens" (Macmillan); and Amelie Rives (the Princess Troubetskoi) has given us another of her long love-poems, under the title "Séléné" (Harpers).

Leslie Stephen's delicious literary memorabilia and essays, "Hours in a Library," have been issued in a new edition, in four volumes, by the Putnams. This new edition is in very satisfactory typographical form. The work itself needs no further mention to-day. The fine



SIR LESLIE STEPHEN.

literary discrimination and artistic insight which characterized Stephen are charmingly displayed in this work, which is so exceedingly suggestive, and which has such a rich background.

Prof. Ira Osborn Baker, of the University of Illinois, has written "A Treatise on Roads and Pavements" (New York: John Wiley & Sons), which discusses from

the point of view of an engineer the principles involved in the construction of country roads and city pavements. Inasmuch as earth roads constitute 95 per cent. of the mileage of our public highways, Professor Baker has given much space to the construction and maintenance of such roads. The first four chapters of the book are wholly devoted to the economics and engineering problems of this class of highway. As regards urban and suburban roads, we are gratified to learn that in most particulars American roads and pavements are superior to any other in the world. Professor Baker has, therefore, based his treatment of these topics upon American experience, believing, as he does, that the principles of road-making worked out in this country are best suited to American conditions.

#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Intoxicants and Opium in All Lands and Times. By Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts. International Reform Bureau, Washington.
- Letters from Tuskegee: Being the Confessions of a Yankee. By Rupert Fehnstoke.
- Life of Reason, The. By George Santayana. Scribners.
- Light Ahead for the Negro. By E. A. Johnson. Grafton.
- Light of Faith, The. By Frank McGloin. B. Herder, St. Louis.
- Logic: Deductive and Inductive. By John Grier Hibben, Ph.D. Scribners.
- Makers of the American Republic. By David Gregg, D.D. Treat.
- Manufacturing Cost. By H. L. Hall. Bookkeeper Publishing Company, Detroit.
- Masters of English Literature, The. By Stephen Gwynn. Macmillan.
- Mind Energy and Matter. By Chalmers Prentice, M.D., Chicago.
- Modern Theory of Physical Phenomena. By Augusta Righi. Macmillan.
- Monopolistic Combinations in the German Coal Industry. By Francis Walker. Macmillan.
- More Money for the Public Schools. By Charles W. Eliot. Doubleday, Page & Co.
- Mormon Menace, The. By John Doyle Lee. Home Protection Publishing Company.
- Multiple Personality. By Boris Sidis and Simon P. Goodhart. Appletons.
- Nature Study Idea, The. By Liberty H. Bailey. Doubleday, Page & Co.
- On Becoming Blind. By Dr. Émile Javal. Macmillan.
- On Holy Ground. By William L. Worcester. Lippincott.
- Our Schools: Their Administration and Supervision. By William E. Chancellor. Heath.
- Outline of Medieval and Modern European History. Heath.
- Outline of Municipal Government in the City of New York, An. By George Arthur Ingalls, B.A. Bender, Albany.
- Parables of Life. By Hamilton Wright Mabe. Macmillan.
- Personal Hygiene. By Walter L. Pyle, M.D. W. B. Saunders & Co.
- Police Power, The. By Ernest Freund. University of Chicago Press.
- Representative Modern Preachers. By Lewis O. Brastow, D.D. Macmillan.
- Self-Building., By Corolla Banister. Lee & Shepard.
- Senator, The. By Henry Christopher McCook. Geo. W. Jacobs & Co.
- Seven Years' Hard. By Richard Free. E. P. Dutton & Co.
- Spalding's Official Athletic Almanac for 1905. By J. E. Sullivan. American Sports Publishing Company.
- Strategy of the Great Railroads, The. By Frank H. Spearman. Scribners.
- Wall Street Speculation. By Franklin C. Keyes, LL.B. Columbia Publishing Company, Oneonta, N. Y.
- Webster, Daniel. By Everett P. Wheeler. Putnams.
- Your Future. By Lela Omar. Penn.



# THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

## CONTENTS FOR JUNE, 1905.

<b>President Roosevelt on His Hunting Trip in Colorado</b> ..... Frontispiece	<b>What the People Read in Mexico</b> ..... 687 With illustrations.
<b>The Progress of the World—</b>	<b>Morocco and the French Intervention</b> ..... 689 By R. L. N. Johnston. With illustrations.
The President's Return to Washington..... 643	<b>The Maneuvers of a War Fleet in Time of Peace</b> ..... 696 By G. Upton Harvey. With illustrations.
Transportation Problems..... 643	<b>An Object-Lesson in Irrigation</b> ..... 701 By Clarence J. Blanchard. With illustrations.
The Public-Service Corporations..... 644	<b>Philadelphia's Civic Outlook</b> ..... 705 By Joseph M. Rogers.
New York Legislation..... 645	<b>The Atlantic Fisheries Question.</b>
The Question of Water-Supply..... 645	I.—A Statement of Newfoundland's Attitude..... 708 By P. T. McGrath.
Forest Preservation..... 646	II.—The American View..... 711 By Winthrop L. Marvin.
Irrigation Progress..... 646	<b>The American Academy in Rome</b> ..... 713 By F. D. Millet.
Various State Problems..... 647	<b>American "Rhodes Scholars" at Oxford</b> ..... 716 By Paul Nixon.
West Virginia Tax Laws..... 647	<b>The Church-Union Movement in Canada</b> ..... 720 By the Rev. J. P. Gerrie.
The Chicago Teamsters' Strike..... 647	<b>Leading Articles of the Month—</b>
Peace in the Labor World..... 648	The Centenary of Schiller's Death..... 722
International Finance..... 648	The Centenary of Joseph Mazzini..... 724
Our Own Prosperity..... 649	Will the Russian Church Be Freed from the Bureaucracy?..... 725
How It Is Accelerated..... 649	The Deep Shades and Shadows of Russian Life..... 726
Our Increased Gold Production..... 650	An Englishman's Impression of Maxim Gorky..... 729
The Trade Outlook..... 650	The Future of the Russian Navy,—A British View..... 730
Our Tariff Relations with Germany..... 650	Japan's Terms of Peace and Her Negotiators..... 731
Discrimination Against American Products..... 651	The Suggested Russo Japanese Alliance..... 733
Western Prosperity and the Portland Fair..... 652	Germany's New Economic Policy..... 734
Sanitation at Panama..... 652	Does Germany Really Aim to Absorb Holland?..... 735
Our Home-Coming Ambassadors..... 652	Germany's Designs in the Far East..... 737
The Representatives of Russia and Japan..... 653	Hungarian Statesmen and Their Problems..... 738
British Finances and the British People..... 654	An English Programme of Social Reform..... 739
A New British Naval Programme..... 654	A Study of the Chicago Teamsters..... 740
A Constitution for South Africa..... 655	The Sanitary Importance of the Milk-Supply..... 741
Religious Toleration for Russia?..... 655	The Liège Exhibition..... 742
Progress in Other Reforms..... 656	The Municipalization of Bakeries in Italy..... 743
Concessions to Poland..... 656	An Italian Estimate of Mark Twain..... 743
Rozhestvenski <i>versus</i> Tokio and Paris..... 657	Henry H. Rogers—Monopolist..... 744
As to French Neutrality..... 657	George Bernard Shaw..... 745
France's Statement..... 658	The Origin of the Welsh Bible..... 746
An "Unsatisfactory Explanation."..... 658	Plant Galls..... 746
The Land Campaign in the East..... 659	Late Estimates of the Yukon's Wealth..... 747
Exit Russia, Enter Japan..... 659	The Poles and the Language Question in Russia..... 748 With portraits and other illustrations.
Chinese Commercial Awakening..... 660	<b>Briefer Notes on Topics in the Periodicals</b> ... 750
Centenaries and Memorials..... 660	<b>Notable Fiction of Spring and Summer</b> ..... 755 With portraits of authors.
Royal Weddings and Engagements..... 661	<b>Other New Books</b> ..... 765 With portraits of authors.
The Ocean Yacht Race..... 661	
Internationalism in Sports..... 662	
Mr. Carnegie's Pension Fund..... 663	
Its Real Significance..... 663	
A Great School of Art..... 664	
Obituary Notes..... 664	
With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations.	
<b>Record of Current Events</b> ..... 665	
With portrait of Frank B. Brandegee and other illustrations.	
<b>Some Cartoons of the Month</b> ..... 669	
<b>General Fitzhugh Lee</b> ..... 673 With portrait.	
<b>The Career of Joseph Jefferson</b> ..... 674 By Joseph B. Gilder. With portrait of Mr. Jefferson.	
<b>Modjeska, Dramatic Artist and Patriot</b> ..... 678 With portrait.	
<b>Count Cassini, Typical Russian Diplomat</b> .... 680 With portrait.	
<b>Japan's Representative at Washington</b> ..... 682 With portrait of Kogoro Takahira.	
<b>The Larger Problem Before Admiral Togo</b> ... 684 By Adachi Kinnosuké. With portrait of Admiral Togo.	

**TERMS:** \$2.50 a year in advance; 25 cents a number. Foreign postage \$1.00 a year additional. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible, in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters, and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions to the English REVIEW OF REVIEWS, which is edited and published by Mr. W. T. Stead in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.) THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 13 Astor Place, New York City.



From a stereograph. Copyright, 1905, by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON HIS HUNTING TRIP IN COLORADO.